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*RELIGION AND MORALITY: AN ASPECT.**

I AM conscious that I have chosen a subject to lecture on which is much too wide to be treated adequately on one occasion. Consequently I have been compelled if by nothing else, at least by time, to take up only one aspect of this great question. Nor am I sorry, because the line of thought which I shall put before you to-night has always been that of all the others which has appealed most to myself.

There are at least three main ways in which the subject in question can be treated. Each one of these ways is complementary to the others, so that a full treatment could afford to omit none of the three. First of all there is the examination of the mental facts of religion and morality as mental facts. In other words there is a wide field open before the introspective observer in the region of the Psychology of Religion and Morality. This study, I need scarcely say, consists in taking up these mental phenomena, handling them, analysing them, dissecting them, sifting them, learning their elements, and their evolution—all the while remembering that they are being treated as mental facts, as 'hard things', and not as meanings, not as symbols of worth or value. That, I venture to say, is a field where much work remains to be done—especially are we in need of a Psychology of Religion.

A second mode of treatment has regard to the postulates of morality and religion. By 'postulate' is meant a something which is presupposed or demanded by the facts of experience. For example, a stone thrown into the air falls again, and a missile projected from a cannon describes a parabolic curve in its course. These are

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* A Lecture delivered in the Anderson Hall, on Sunday, March 17, 1895.

facts of experience, and the postulate or 'somewhat demanded' to explain these facts is the law of gravitation. Similarly there are certain postulates of Morality—God, Freedom, and Immortality. This examination of the postulates of Morality and Religion is called, as every one knows, the Metaphysic of Morality and Religion.

It would further fall to be discussed under this division what the objects are which are brought into relation by the one and by the other. Thus, for instance, the moral laws are the links which unite men with men in the social system. They are principles which regulate the activity of man in so far as he is a member of a kingdom of ends. Without these inviolable foundations the whole fabric of society would break up. These laws, as it were, thread mankind together, bind men up in a great bundle of life. We may further regard the moral imperatives as conditioning our treatment of the lower animals. In short, morality regards men as brought into relation with men, and, if we choose to say so, with the lower animals.

But from the standpoint of religion it is men and God that are brought into relation. The central idea of religion is that of a link connecting the human and the divine—it is the activity of man in so far as he is a child of God. The religious society is the greatest of all—it is a community whereof the great *Socius* or Companion, as Mr. James says, is the chief figure. Into the moral order a new member has been introduced, and His introduction has altered the entire idea of the society—it is no longer a republic where all the citizens are equal, it is a monarchy where the sovereign is at the same time the Father of all those who read aright His revelation in history.

But there is a third method, and it is the one which I propose to pursue. It is, in a sense, a combination of both these methods—but it is a little more. Defended by its being employed by Aristotle, it seeks to discover the relation of the phenomena of religion to the phenomena of morality, and does not pretend to discuss each set of facts by themselves and for their own sakes as facts, which would be to adopt the first method, nor does it, on the other hand, attempt to deal with the question of postulates or of the nature of the objects, and the relations to which each has regard, which is the scope of the second. It is the plain straightforward way of examining the activity of the human mind with a view to find whether its exercises in the moral sphere and in the religious are but different forms of a common active principle. Accordingly I shall at the outset follow the teaching of Aristotle closely, and then

I shall attempt to show the advance that has been made by the Christian religion.

(1) First, then, Aristotle starts with an attempt to find what the end or goal of man is. "The end of medicine," he says "is health; of ship-building, a ship; of strategy, victory; of domestic economy, wealth." But there is an end common to all men, and to man as such. What is the nature of that end—the end alike of the doctor, and of the ship-builder, of the soldier and the economist? It must be found in what belongs to the peculiar nature of man. Now man is a vegetable. He possesses the characteristics of growth and decay, he demands nourishment else he will die. But no one really would have the hardihood to assert that the end of man is to be a good vegetable. Man has other and higher qualities which distinguish him from the mere vegetable, and his end must consist in the exercise of these. Further, man is an animal. He is possessed of the powers of movement, he is subject to sensations of colour, taste, touch, etc., he is swayed by passions and desires—in fact he possesses all the marks of the true animal. Does the end of man consist, then, in the gratification of desires, in the full exercise of the senses, and in the delight of spontaneous movement? Observe carefully that the question is not: Do some men make these the end of their being? We know that many men do. But the point to be considered is whether such an end is the true goal of the human race. Is man a mere animal, slightly superior, perhaps, to the rest of his kind, but, after all is said and done, an animal like the rest? Has he no special possession, no peculiar quality which differentiates him from the beasts of the field and in the exercise of which his true happiness consists? Are those the possessors of a wisdom unspeakable, who tell us with a betraying confidence that, after years of patient toil, they have come to the conclusion, in what they are pleased to call their minds, that man should eat, drink, and in general be merry if he would be a true man? Is this the sum of the whole matter? On the contrary, man is the possessor of reason, and in having this he stands out distinct from the mere animals. The true end of man, accordingly, consists in the activity of reason. He that would realize his true self must live the life of reason.

The question next arises: What are the spheres in which reason is exercised? The goal is to live the life of reason well, and this life has two branches. On the one hand reason is active in the regulation and subjugation of the desires and passions. This exercise

well achieved begets virtue or moral character .On the other hand reason is speculative, and its activity consists in knowing God. The principle is one, only the fields are different. It is reason that is active in both cases—morality and religion are but different exercises of the one reason. It is one and the same darkness that sends man to sleep and the wild beasts to hunt: it is one and the same energy that begets the moral and the religious man. Reason moulds the desires, frames the soul after its ideal by adding this and removing that until it stands in the beauty of its harmonious nature—reason grasps the Eternal, comprehends the many of time and space in the One which is and was and shall be, thrusts aside every intermediate barrier and attains the very centre and source of all things.

But while this unity of the principles at work in morality and religion is a very great truth, Aristotle had grasp of an even deeper truth. It is a view common alike to Greek and Christian thought that the pathway towards the knowledge of God is up the steep and struggling road of the virtuous life. Knowledge of God is not to be gained in the schools: it is not an item to be won by the sweat of the speculative brow. We shall not attain to it by reasonings about this and that. No doubt after we have known God, we may be able to justify our knowledge by certain doubtful arguments, but the great men of the world did not arrive at their belief in God through a painful devotion to the syllogism. We may talk learnedly and use high-sounding phrases which seem to be bubbling with meaning as they certainly are with sound, we may argue with the knitted brows of the thinker till our heads ache, we may debate with all the zeal of the far-away scholars of the Greek Academy, but knowledge of God, as Plato and Aristotle said, as the Old Testament prophets and sages of all lands have said, as Christ Himself has said,—knowledge of God arises only from purity of heart. It is an experience which is superinduced on a pure heart—the virtuous man alone can know God.

Hence when men deny the reality of God and say in foolishness of heart that He is not, the reply which must silence them is the assertion of Aristotle that knowledge of God—this particular exercise of reason—is impossible to him who has not attained to the virtuous life. This is a profound truth, that it is the pure in heart and they only that see God. God is hid from the eyes of all those whose hearts are not clean. Unless a man is in earnest about his moral character the teaching of all the greatest thinkers that

the world has ever seen is that such a one is naturally unable to know God.

I venture to think that the relation between morality and religion must be clear now. The religious experience, the community of a soul with God, arises naturally out of the moral experience, the character developed in relation with the world. Morality is indispensable to religion, religion is the natural outcome of morality. Let me quote from a great scholar in such matters: "As the eye cannot behold the sun unless it be sun-like and hath the form and resemblance of the sun drawn in it; so neither can the soul of man behold God, unless it be Godlike, hath God formed in it, and be made partaker of the divine nature. The knowledge of divinity that appears in systems and models is but a poor wan light; but the powerful energy of divine knowledge displays itself in purified souls: here we shall find the true land of truth." In a word, then, knowledge of God is possible only to one class of men, the virtuous —religion is an experience which only the moral can have. In this view, too, all the greatest thinkers have concurred—that knowledge of God is man's true end, and that the virtuous alone can gain it.

(2) But secondly, it may be taken as a maxim that as men themselves are, so will God seem to them to be. It follows as a consequence that with the Christian advance beyond the Greeks in morality there was made possible a deeper knowledge of God. Christ's perfection of character and His unheard of knowledge of God are reciprocally related. Greek thought and Christian agree in principle, as we saw before, but a deeper morality was introduced by Christ. His standard was more searching. Let us see what the change was. In two main aspects Christian morality advanced far ahead of ancient morality. The demand of Christ in the first instance was for internal purity.

By this is meant that the thoughts, motives, and imaginations must be pure. It is not hard to be pure in intention, but to preserve the motive unblemished is the difficult task. But some one may ask: What is the difference between the motive and the intention? Two examples will answer this question. My intention may be in the case of a drowning man to save him. I may do my utmost to achieve this good result, and success may or may not attend my efforts. But if my motive in saving him be to preserve him for a worse death, say by torture, then clearly however good my intention may be, the motive which animates the intention renders the

action utterly blameworthy; that is to say, the morality of the deed is determined by an element more internal than the intention. Or take an instance which is more one of everyday experience than the former. A man may be very benevolent in intention, enviously so in fact, but if the motive which prompts the action be desire to gain the plaudits of the neighbourhood or some such end, then his benevolence is tainted with selfishness. The world, no doubt, would abstain from calling the action in question an immoral one. It would shrink from applying such an unhallowed word to such a useful action, but before the bar of Christ and tested by His criterion of purity of heart the action is deficient in its very core. The ideal man to the Greeks was not the man whose action was pure in motive. Outward effect was almost the sole test of action: the good and the useful were almost identical. Their ideal man was what we now call a man of the world. He was, of course, of renowned liberality—a by-word for good deeds. But, at the same time, there accompanied all his actions a calm sense of his own intrinsic worth and superiority. But under Christian morality actions were not to be accounted good merely if in their outward results they were beneficial. The peculiarly personal element in conduct was brought into relief. The perfect man according to the Christian standard was the man whose motive was pure. Henceforth the Greek ideal man, be he never so beneficent and dignified, was without the very element which distinguishes good and bad. A new ideal had arisen,—to the Greeks it was foolishness. It enjoined a thorough cleansing of the heart.

Coupled with this advance in the demand for purity of heart was the new doctrine of the brotherhood of man. Henceforth slavery was doomed. The Greek took slavery for granted, and the slave was a mere utensil. It never seems to have occurred to him that he and his slave shared a common life and awaited a common death. The idea of a God before whom slave and master were equal was altogether foreign to Greek thought. But Christ destroyed this assumed inequality amongst men. He taught the great truth that every man is equally loved by the Heavenly Father. All institutions which were based on the principle of the inequality of men were accordingly antagonistic to the teaching of Christ, and slavery being the chiefest of these was destined to be destroyed.

These were the two main ways in which Christian morality outstripped pagan—the one being an advance in Intension and the other in Extension.

Such, then, is the ideal that Christ sets before men and which He enjoins them to realize. It is, if you have thought over it carefully, a strenuous one. It demands an amount of sacrifice and of self-conquest that baffles one the more one thinks of it. To arrive at a true knowledge of God, not merely must we become outwardly virtuous but through and through we must be pure. It is a lofty ideal. Think over it again and you will become convinced of two things, and of both equally surely. In the first instance it will become apparent that it is the only true conception of the moral life. This rigorism will prove itself to the dispassionate mind to be logically the true end. It stands to reason that man in order to thoroughly know God must be thoroughly perfect. If in a low state of perfection one has some knowledge of God, and if, according to our former reasoning, such knowledge is the true end of man, it surely is an easy inference that the most perfect knowledge of God is man's perfect end, and that such undimmed knowledge requires as its prerequisite a totally unsullied character. The perfection of Christ is demanded of every man. In the second place it will become clear to every one who knows himself that this ideal is an impossible one. Christ's measure of the stature of the perfect man is such as thwarts and buffets our every effort to grow to it. The conditions required are too stringent. The denial to us of that which, even when it is seen to be unattainable, we still protest to be our highest and only real desire, leaves us in blank dismay. The rigoristic ideal is quite the true one, nay it is the necessary one, if our knowledge of God is to be adequate, clear, and distinct; but it is an ideal which mocks us. How can we become wholly virtuous? The thing is an absurdity. Despair, hopeless and cruel, must be the attitude of the wise man: perhaps a wiser man will cease to think of such matters and live his life quietly from day to day untouched by the thought of torturing ideals whose truth inflicts a double wound: perhaps the wisest of all will cease to make the life according to reason his end and strive to become a good vegetable—fair and rounded and well nourished, and wrapt up in that aspect of life which becomes most real at the dinner table,—or more likely a good animal, and find his happiness in the satisfaction of his desires, thankful that the life according to reason is *so* impossible and glad to have good grounds for making reason the slave of the passions.

Some men of course are not so pessimistic about human nature. They are jealous of the powers of man unaided to become virtuous;

they do not feel the weight of an immense debit account. There is no such thing, they maintain, as spiritual weakness—set your target and man will be able to 'carry' the distance. Now while one cannot help admiring the fortitude of these defenders of the human race, I venture to assert that their ideas about humanity are either wilfully misleading or the outcome of ignorance.

They are wilfully misleading if they are born of an optimism which shuts its eyes to what it does not desire to see, and turns away from all the evil and misery in the world and in any single human heart. On the other hand they may be due to ignorance of the true inward nature of Christ's ideal. Take a low estimate of that, and as a matter of course it is possible: nay, take a recognizably attainable estimate of it and you have won your point. Only don't call it, if you wish to preserve any character for truthfulness, Christ's ideal. Because it is not. An amputated arm is not the human body: and is Christ divided? Either state of mind will produce the same effect—the shutting of the eyes to the facts of life and the eyes shut to the true meaning and exaltedness of the standard of Christ. Which of the two is the more objectionable I do not know. There is a pathos about the former, as there is about most delusions, and there is a humiliation about the latter, as there is about most ignorance. The one can be cured by a deeper observation of the springs of one's own actions and of the treatment of men by men, the other can be cured by studying the New Testament. Rising from this search into the nature of mankind and the character of Christ, the careful student will have formed two conclusions—first that the human heart is so corrupt and given over to selfishness as to reduce a true man to despair, and secondly that "Christ is the chiefest among ten thousand and the altogether lovely." He will recognize that if man is to be able to grow like Christ, so as to see God—his highest end—as Christ saw Him, some special, supernatural remedy must be resorted to, some extraordinary measures must be taken for his reformation. If such remedy there be not, if such measures have not been taken, then let us, as calmly as possible, recognize that we are derelicts, and drifting with the tide, that we have missed our destiny, and that it should be ours to adapt ourselves to what remains as our only alternative—a life "*solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, short.*"

(3) You will have observed that I have been leading up to the true doctrine of the Christian ideal. What remains for me to do is to solve the problem which I have laid before you. How can man

become so virtuous as to see God face to face? I take it that by this time you are agreed that this vision of God is man's true end, and that a lofty height of moral excellence is required of one who would enjoy the sight.

The line of argument which I have been pursuing is no new one. It was adopted in the early days of Christianity by the Apostle Paul, and as late as this very century a great German philosopher* thought he had discovered in it something before unknown. He was wrong in supposing so, but he gave the old method a new form.

Does Christ then merely set before us an ideal of the splendour of which we are convinced but which, we are equally certain, lies infinitely beyond our power? Is His teaching in effect this—Men must become perfect as I am perfect or else they cannot approach unto God? In answer it has to be asserted that He does do this but that He does more. If we think of Him merely as an example, then His message to us is a terrible one, because who is sufficient for these things? But our belief in Him is deeper than this. He has come a second Adam to the fight, to reinforce in a mysterious way our baffled energies. He Himself can and does impart a power to us which works within us toward perfection.

Just as an army, when sore pressed by the enemy, gives way and is well nigh reduced to despair. The shout of victory of the enemy resounds—the groan of defeated hopes is heard—the day is lost. But over the hill, it may be, there gleam and glance the swords and banners of a mighty host come to the aid. The enemy is discomfited—new endeavour exults in the breasts of the fighters—the day is won. The glory of the triumph is due to the newcomers. So Christ in the fulness of time came to this earth to combat evil for us whom evil had vanquished. He purchased for us redemption by His life and death, so that henceforth we live and fight, yet not we, but Christ in us. True it is that only the pure in heart see God, only the perfectly virtuous, but it is likewise indubitable that Christ's power can make us pure. His teaching is not a message of despair, but the triumphal blast of a glorious hope. Here is the means appointed by God for men to realize their chiefest end, here is the lever that will raise men morally until they at length fully know God.

This is what I venture to ask you to think about, *viz.*, the consummation of morality in religion. Grant that the true end of man

* Fichte, *Critique of all Revelation*.

consists in knowing God, grant that a *state* of moral perfection is demanded in order to gain this knowledge such as is impossible to unaided human effort, grant the consequent probability of some divine measures being taken to reinforce man's inability, grant these three things and then experiment upon Christ. If you are to be logical you are bound at least to try whether He has this asserted power of producing such a revolution in one's character as enables one even on this earth to apprehend God. Is it not possible that He may be the chosen of God to revive and augment the moral energy of mankind? Is there anything illogical or absurd in supposing that this is Christ's mission in the world? If you are arrested by His perfection, and allow Him to work in your mind with growing power, then, just as in Aristotle's view vision of God accompanied perfection of character, so the *virtue* generated by Christ will as surely enable you to see, as speculation never will, that He is more than human and can only be explained by being called Divine.

A. B. MACAULAY.

THE HINDU WOMAN'S RELIGION.

STREE DHARMA VIDHI.

No sacrifice is allowed to women apart from their husbands, no religious rite, no fasting: as far only as a wife honours her lord, so far she is exalted in heaven.—Manu v. 155.

It is pleaded by some, in defence of Hinduism, and especially of the low position occupied by Hindu women, that this is the *Kali-yuga*, the iron age, or age of universal degeneracy, and that in primitive times things were different generally, and the status of woman was much higher than it is now. There may be, and doubtless there is, some truth in this, but there is also evidence that, as in modern, so in early days too, the woman was ever to be kept in a state of abject submission to the lords of creation. Even in a much quoted text of Manu, though it is said that in those times a man might perform religious rites *together with* his wife, it will be seen that the woman is nothing without the man. The verse runs as follows:—

To be mothers were women created; and to be fathers, men; religious rites, therefore, are ordained in the *Veda* to be performed *by the husband* together with the wife. (ix. 96.)

The whole of the Laws of Manu show, most unmistakably, that they were made by *men* and that their whole aim was to keep the other sex in complete submission; and this not only in matters of general behaviour, but also in the sacred matter of religion, and the soul's need. The woman must never dare have a will of her own or at any period of her life decide for herself in anything:—

By a girl or by a young woman, or by a woman advanced in years, nothing must be done, even in her own dwelling place, according to her mere pleasure. (v. 147.)

She must always be distrusted and looked upon with suspicion as capable of doing any wrong, or, as perhaps it would be more right to say, as incapable of doing anything right. A king is directed to let his females be well tried and attentive, their dress and ornaments having been examined, lest some weapon should be concealed in them. They are to do him humble service with fans, water, and perfume. (vii. 219.)

The husband is directed never to eat with his wife, nor look at her eating (iv. 43); she must never even mention his name, and she must be in such absolute subjection that no amount of outrage upon her sense of propriety or affections is to be resented or cause estrangement.

Though inobservant of approved usages, or enamoured of another woman, or devoid of good qualities, yet a husband must constantly be revered as a god by a virtuous wife. (v. 154.)

A wife is to be considered as a mere maternal machine and domestic drudge; and this is, in brief, the light in which she is depicted by the sacred Lawgiver. Doubtless as long as human nature is what it is, there will be instances where man will be better than his creed, and where women will rise to higher influence and status than those laid down for them; but the fact remains that it is thus decreed:—

Let the husband keep his wife employed in the collection and expenditure of wealth, in purification and female duty, in the preparation of daily food, and the superintendence of household utensils.

The production of children, the nurture of them when produced, and the daily superintendence of domestic affairs are peculiar to the wife. (ix. 11, 27.)

Thus is depicted the social status of woman in the former and better ages, as distinct from what it actually is in this *Kali-yuga* or degenerate age; and, as if this were not enough, her very soul is to be in subjection too, and that religious instinct which is a glory.

to womanhood is denied free expression, but must be bound in the chains of a cruel servitude.

Women have no business with the texts of the *Veda*; thus is the law fully settled: having therefore no evidence of law, and no knowledge of expiatory texts, sinful women must be as foul as falsehood itself; and this is a fixed rule. (ix. 18.)

We have said that cramped and confined though it may be, the better side of human nature will sometimes show itself, for no code devised of man can entirely eradicate the better promptings of the human heart. In Hindu story there are not wanting instances of a better appreciation of woman's qualities than the cast-iron codes would admit of. In his excellent work, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, Sir Monier Williams gives the following translation of the definition of a wife as found in the *Mahābhārata*:—

A wife is half the man, his truest friend;
A loving wife is a perpetual spring
Of virtue, pleasure, wealth; a faithful wife
Is his best aid in seeking heavenly bliss;
A sweetly-speaking wife is a companion
In solitude, a father in advice,
A rest in passing through life's wilderness. (p. 389.)

There is also a most touchingly beautiful piece in the *Rāmayana* to be found translated into English in Volume II. of Ward's book on the History of the Literature and Mythology of the Hindus. It purports to be the address of Seeta to her husband Rāma. Rāma was banished by the king, his father Dasharatha, at the instigation of his third wife Kaikēya, who wished the succession for her own son. He was doomed to perpetual exile in the forest, and his wife expresses her determination to go with him. As a beautiful expression of tender affection I cannot refrain from quoting the piece at length. It serves to show that the affectionate nature of a true woman is ever the same, despite its surroundings.

Son of the venerable parent! hear,
'Tis Seeta speaks. Say, art not thou assur'd
That to each being his allotted time
And portion, as his merit, are assign'd,
And that a wife her husband's portion shares?
Therefore with thee this forest lot I claim.
A woman's bliss is found, not in the smile
Of father, mother, friend, nor in herself:
Her husband is her only portion here,
Her heaven hereafter. If thou, indeed,
Depart this day into the forest drear,

I will precede, and smooth the thorny way.
O hero brave, as water we reject
In which our nutriment has been prepar'd,
So anger spurn, and every thought unkind,
Unworthy of thy spouse, and by thy side,
Unblam'd, and unforbidden, let her stay.
Oh chide me not; for where the husband is,
Within the palace, on the stately car,
Or wandering in the air, in every state
The shadow of his foot is her abode.
My mother and my father having left,
I have no dwelling-place distinct from thee.
Forbid me not. For in the wilderness,
Hard of access, renounc'd by men, and fill'd
With animals and birds of various kind,
And savage tigers, I will surely dwell.
This horrid wilderness shall be to me
Sweet as my father's house, and all the noise
Of the three worlds shall never interrupt
My duty to my lord. A gay recluse,
On thee attending, happy shall I feel
Within this honey-scented grove to roam,
For thou e'en here canst nourish and protect;
And therefore other friend I cannot need.
To-day most surely with thee I will go,
And thus resolved, I must not be deny'd.
Roots and wild fruit shall be my constant food,
Nor will I, near thee, add unto thy cares,
Nor lag behind, nor forest-food refuse;
But fearless traverse ev'ry hill and dale,
Viewing the winding stream, the craggy rock,
And, stagnant at its base, the pool or lake.
In nature's deepest myst'ries thou art skill'd,
O hero—and I long with thee to view
Those sheets of water, fill'd with nymphœas,
Cover'd with ducks, and swans, and silvan fowl,
And studded with each wild and beauteous flow'r,
In these secluded pools I'll often bathe,
And share with thee, O Rama, boundless joy.
Thus could I sweetly pass a thousand years;
But without thee e'en heav'n would lose its charms.
A residence in heaven, O Raghuvu,
Without thy presence, would no joy afford.
Therefore, though rough the path, I must, I will,
The forest penetrate, the wild abode
Of monkeys, elephants, and playful fawn.
Pleas'd to embrace thy feet, I will reside
In the rough forest as my father's house.
Void of all other wish, supremely thine,

> Permit me this request—I will not grieve,
> I will not burden thee—refuse me not.
> But shouldst thou, Raghuvu, this prayer deny,
> Know, I resolve on death—if torn from thee. (p. 408.)

To come more directly to the subject of this paper, there is great difficulty in arriving at anything like a clear knowledge of the Hindu woman's religion. Books to which I have access do not help one much, and the Hindus themselves have very confused and conflicting ideas on the subject. I have consulted with learned native friends, and others likely to have the best information, and that which is given here is as clear as is possible in anything so conflicting and confusing as Hinduism generally is.

The main question is, whether a woman can have any worship at all apart from her husband; and the answer is that she may and she may not. From the passage at the head of this paper it will be seen that, as a rule, the woman has no religious status apart from her husband, and yet, as will be seen further on, she has a daily worship of her own, of a kind. This may be merely an unauthorized form of concession to the religious instincts of woman —a sort of thing allowed on sufferance as doing no harm to any one, though it may perhaps be of little good! This may be the case, and perhaps it had its origin in some such notion, but the fact remains that, in the present day, the woman has a little divine service of her own.

At the time of her marriage, at the marriage of her children, and at certain other periods and at some festivals, the wife must sit with her husband during the time he is engaged in the performance of certain acts of worship, though she seems to be there only as a kind of complement of her husband, and takes no active part in the ceremonies. If a man has lost his wife, he cannot perform any sacrifices by fire (*oupāsana*), which shows that the wife has some indirect connection with the ceremony, and also, in part, accounts for the anxiety of a widower to remarry. The woman is a part of her husband and so she worships through him: what he does, she does. The *Yajur Veda* says:—

> Arthōrā ēsha ātmanō yatpatneeti ||
> The wife is half the self of her husband.

Upon this there is a comment by Brihaspati, somewhat as follows:—"It has been said that the wife is half the self of her husband, and in consequence she shares equally with him all the good and evil done by him."

But the question still remains whether the woman can ordinarily join her husband in his prayers and sacrifices; and to this the answer must be in the negative. At the midday service when the man performs the ceremonies before taking food, as described in the paper on *Nitya Karma*, the wife may attend upon him, and hand him the things used by him, but she can take no real part with him. The woman is not a twice-born (*dvija*); nor does she wear the sacred thread (*yagnōpavīta*), which is the mark of the second birth (*upanayana*); she cannot read the Vedas, or even hear them read; nor can she take part in her husband's sacred services (*dēvatār-chana*); she is outside it all; in reality, she has no religious life in common with her husband.

It may be well just to go through the ordinary day with a woman and see what she really does, as far as it bears upon the subject. The women of the household are always the first to rise in the morning, and this is usually long before daybreak. The early morning duties, after the performance of personal ablutions, consist of cleaning up those parts of the house that cannot be entered by people of lower castes, and cleaning the drinking pots and the numerous vessels that are used in a more or less ceremonious manner in a Hindu household. During the performance of these duties, which must be entirely done by or shared in by every good housewife, she generally sings in a low tone some song which is intended to rouse up the god Krishna or Siva, as the case may be. Two specimens of the songs thus sung are here given. The first is from the Telugu, and is called *mēlukolupu*, or the waking up:—

1. Awake! Awake! O Krishna, awake to save us thy people. O thou being of perfection, awake and bestow upon us all good and perfect gifts. Awake! Awake!

2. Awake! Awake! for kings and princes have come to worship thee as king of kings; and queens and princesses are at hand to adore thee with the waving of rubies. Awake! Awake!

3. Awake! Awake! O thou the loveliest of heaven and earth! thy devoted ones throng to petition thee: grant thy people heavenly and earthly good. Awake! Awake!

4. Awake! Awake! O divine Krishna, who art adored by Brahma the creator; who freest thy people from the troubles and trials inseparable from domestic life; who destroyest the multitude of sins and liftest up the fallen, Awake! Awake!

5. Awake! Awake! Old and young have come to thy presence for the removal of all their sorrows. O my creator who art my portion, and the sum of all my good, Awake! Awake!

6. Awake! Awake! O look with favour upon us suppliants at thy feet

O thou who art the personification of all good, the adored of Sanaka, Awake! Awake!

7. Awake! Awake! O thou who art worshipped by Parvati; ever preserve us and grant unto us all health and wealth and every temporal and celestial good. Awake! Awake!

8. Awake! Awake! I am waiting to worship thee with jasmine flowers, therefore arouse thyself quickly. O Mādhava shrihari! save us and remove all our sins. Awake! Awake!

The second specimen of these songs is taken from the Sanscrit. Many women of the upper classes learn some of these songs, even in Sanscrit, although, probably, they do not often understand much of the meaning, This one is called *Gopika gita.*

1. O Krishna! Krishna! Brundāvanam is glorious as the place of thy nativity.
   Thereby also it has become the dwelling place of Lakshmi.
   By this all men are made happy: why dost thou not manifest thyself unto us?
   Our all is thine; therefore O Lord of life manifest thyself unto us.
2. O Krishna! Krishna! The story of thee is like nectar, by it the afflicted are made to rejoice.
   It is praised by the poets, and by it all sins are destroyed.
   By the simple hearing of it is good effected, it fills the whole world.
   Those who sing this story, which is sweet as nectar, will be altogether blessed.

It should be mentioned that after her ablutions, the woman places upon her forehead the universally worn *tilakam* or mark with red powder made of saffron and other ingredients. The shape of the mark differs according to the deity worshipped by the wearer. Those, for instance, who worship Lakshmi (the wife of Vishnu) have merely a circular spot in the centre of the forehead; whilst the followers of Gauri (the wife of Siva) have a horizontal mark. This mark is always worn except during days of mourning and other times of ceremonial uncleanness, as being without it is a sign of widowhood; and thus, whenever a woman washes her face, she must again renew the mark. The greater part of the forenoon is devoted to preparing the midday meal; and it may be mentioned that no food can be partaken of until after this cooking is done, as the partaking of food renders any one ceremoniously unfit either for cooking or for worship.

In a previous paper I have described the ceremonies performed by the Hindu man before partaking of his first midday meal, and we have seen that much time is occupied in going through all that

is necessary. The woman, too, has a kind of worship of her own before her midday meal, though it is of a comparatively simple character and occupies only a very short time. She has a metal box containing several images of brass or copper, representing various goddesses, usually Gauri or Lakshmi, or sometimes both of these, and perhaps an image of Subrahmanyam, the snake god, who is worshipped only by women. None of these images are consecrated, for a woman must not even touch any image that has been consecrated. She may take the images out and place them on a low stool underneath the sacred canopy *(vitanam)*, which is in the sacred room or sanctuary of every house, or perhaps keep them in the box and worship them there, still being under or near the canopy. A little lamp of ghee and wick is lit and placed near, and the worshipper says the *Sankalpam*, which must always preface worship, and which has been already described as consisting of mentioning the time and repeating the name of the place and that of the family and the tribe as well as the personal name of the worshipper. After this she goes on to say some simple prayers, asking for aid in any personal needs that may be pressing, or for divine help generally, and also a few words of praise, all this accompanied by various bowings with clasped hands. The worshipper then proceeds to offer a bit of fruit or sweetmeat or betel and sprinkle the images with pinches of sandal paste and coloured rice, and perhaps a few flowers, sometimes also waving before them a bit of lighted camphor, at the same time ringing a little bell or striking a small gong. The whole is concluded by three times walking round the spot *(pradakshanam)* and by prostration *(sāshtanga namaskāram)*. The whole ceremony, perhaps, does not occupy as long in the doing as in the telling, and when it is over, the things are replaced in the box, which is then put away in its own proper niche. Among certain sections of Hindus this midday worship is somewhat different. The *lingam* worshippers, for instance, merely light a little lamp, and taking in the left hand the *lingam* from its silver or copper box which is suspended from their neck, perform to it some slight worship, and wave towards it from the food which is about to be consumed. Of course all these things differ slightly amongst different sections of the people, but, for all intents and purposes, this description may be taken as sufficiently representative. It may also be said that this midday worship is all the regular worship that the Hindu woman ordinarily engages in from day to day. At night, when she lights the family lamp, the good

housewife will make obeisance to the flame with closed hands, repeating the following Sanscrit verse :—

Dīpam jyōtih parabramhā |
Dīpam jyōtih parāyana |
Dīpēna haratē pāpam |
Santhyā dīpa namōstutē ||

The flame of this lamp is the Supreme God.
The flame of this lamp is the abode of the Supreme.
By this flame sin is destroyed.
O thou light of the evening we praise thee.

The woman does no worship at the time of the evening meal, as do the men; she simply says, as a kind of grace before meat, the words, Govinda! Govinda! (a name of Vishnu) or Mahādēva! Mahādēva! (an appellation of Siva) as the case may be, before putting the first morsel into her mouth.

As in Christian countries the good mother takes her little ones and teaches them her holy faith according to their capacity to understand, and also teaches them to pray at her knee, so the Hindu mother tells her children stories of the gods she has learned from the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata* and other religious books, and at worship time, when the little bell is sounded, the children are taught to assemble, and, solemnly placing their little hands together, make obeisance to the gods.

It will be seen that practically a Hindu woman's worship is ordinarily confined to the brief midday service described above. Even this she is only supposed to do on sufferance, after having obtained the consent of her husband. A passage on this subject is quoted from the *Padma Purāna* :—

Patirēva priya strīnām |
Bramhāti bhyōpi sarvashaha |
Ātmānancha svabharatāram |
Ēkpinda manīshayā |
Bhartu rāgnam |
Vinānaiva kanchidah dharmam |
Samācharēt ||

The husband is the beloved of the wife.
He is more to her than all the gods.
Herself and her husband,
Be it known, are one person.
Without the consent of her husband,
Any kind of worship whatever,
She must not perform.

With the consent of her husband a wife may, and perhaps does, go on a short pilgrimage without him when he is unable to accompany her; but this is very seldom. And also, strictly with his consent, she may perform and keep vows, as for instance, to do without salt in her food for a stated period or to abstain from milk or various kinds of eatables for a given time, all with the object of obtaining something desired—wealth, or children, or deliverance from disease, for herself or any one dear to her.

We have seen that, apart from her husband, the woman has no religious status whatever, and practically very little even with him. We now come to the important question as to how all this affects her state after death. Does the union and interdependence of husband and wife continue after death, and how can the one affect the other? There is good authority for the monstrous assertion, which, however, is, in itself, exactly in accordance with the whole of Hindu legislation and custom, as far as can be clearly made out, that whilst the good deeds of the wife can materially benefit the husband, as to his eternal state, nothing that he does, or can do, will have any effect upon her; she stands or falls by her own merits alone. If she has been a bad woman, she must expiate her sins by numerous transmigrations, and she may even eventually be cast into the purgatorial hell.

I am aware that this matter is sometimes put in another light by writers on the subject. Ward, for instance, says:—"The merits and demerits of husband and wife are transferable to either in a future state: if a wife perform many meritorious works, and the husband die first, he will enjoy heaven as the fruit of his wife's virtuous deeds; and if the wife be guilty of many wicked actions, and the husband die first, he will suffer for the sins of his wife. In the apprehensions of a Hindu, therefore, marriage ought to be a very serious business." (Vol. I. p. 184.) Though I can find no authority for the first clause of this statement, the quotation from Brihaspati already given shows that there may have been some such idea in ancient Vedic days. Howbeit, a pundit friend says that whilst this quotation may express the state of things in a former *Yuga*, it certainly does not apply to this degenerate period of the world's history; and the following, which is taken from the code of Parāsara, the most modern of the three great codes, speaks to the contrary. The code of Parāsara belongs to the present age, or *Kali-yuga*, and is of very great authority.

Yōshit krutāparāthēnā purushasya yathā pratyavāyaha tathā

purushānushtitēna dharmēna yōshitōpi nishkrutihi bhavatīti nashankanīyam yāgnavalkyaha.

Patilōkam nasāyāti |
Brāhmanīyā surām pibēt |
Jhaiva sāshunī blīntvā |
Sūkarī vōpa jāyatē ||

Yābrāhmanī dushtābhavati tam devāha pitrulōkam nanayantī ihaiva sā bhavati kshīnapunyām āsyōlkā pishāchī bhavati.

We have here a question put by Parāsara, and the answer he himself gives.

Why, it may be asked, is the wife not benefited by the good deeds of her husband, just as the husband becomes hell-doomed by the evil deeds of his wife? The idea that the wife can be so benefited must not for a moment be entertained.

In support of this he gives a quotation from Yāgnavalkya, a celebrated Rishi, to the following effect :—

Whatever Brahmin woman drinks fermented liquor will fail to attain the heaven of her husband. She will be born again as a dog or a pig.

Upon this Parāsara makes the following comment :—

Whatever Brahmin woman becomes bad, she will by the gods be kept out of the ancestral heaven. Such a woman, being without merit, will be born again on this earth as a demon with a mouth emitting flames of fire.

The pundits of the present day appear to take these quotations as a proof that a bad woman cannot be benefited by the good deeds of her husband, and this is their belief on the subject. If the woman be a dutiful wife, she may obtain a share of the celestial bliss of her husband, and also her good deeds may be reckoned to his account, even though he is not a good man; but if she be a bad woman, nothing that her husband or any one else can do will be for her of any avail.

We now come to deal with the Hindu woman as a widow, for her condition as regards religion becomes materially changed after the death of her husband. Although the widow is precluded from taking any part whatever in the ordinary family rites and ceremonies, and although she may be reckoned as dead to all social life, still she can, according to Hinduism, materially assist her husband after his death, and by her prayers and good deeds hasten his final beatitude. It is laid down that the chief way in which she can do this is by ascending his funeral pile, and burning herself alive with

his dead body. Happily the Government will no longer allow these religious murders and suicides, but there is no doubt whatever that they were formerly carried out to an enormous extent, and, if the strong hand of British law were removed, it is most probable that these monstrous cruelties would be again perpetrated. A quotation on this subject is here taken from Ward's book on the Mythology of the Hindus; he takes it from the writings of Angira, a saint of the first and most holy age (*Kruta-yugam*). Other passages from Hindu authors of authority might be quoted, but this one is enough to show what the Hindu religion says on this point as to the sacred duty of women.

"There are," it is stated, "35,000,000 of hairs on the human body. The woman who ascends the pile with her husband, will remain so many years in heaven.—As the snake-catcher draws the serpent from its hole, so she, rescuing her husband (from hell), rejoices with him.—The woman who expires on the funeral pile with her husband purifies the family of her mother, her father, and her husband.—If the husband be a Brahmunicide, an ungrateful person, or a murderer of his friend, the wife by burning with him purges away his sins.—There is no virtue greater than a virtuous woman's burning herself with her husband.—No other effectual duty is known for virtuous women, at any time after the death of their lords, except casting themselves into the same fire.—As long as a woman, in her successive transmigrations, shall decline burning herself, like a faithful wife, on the same fire with her deceased lord, so long shall she not be exempted from springing again to life in the body of some female animal." (Vol. III. p. 308).

The same writer also quotes as follows from the *Brahma Purāna*:—

If the husband be out of the country when he dies, let the virtuous wife take his slippers (or any thing else which belongs to his dress), and binding them (or it) on her breast, after purification, enter a separate fire. (Vol. III. p. 309.)

In the event of *sati* or self-immolation not being performed, the widow may effect her husband's final good by a strict following out of the rules and regulations laid down by authority for such cases. I can find no authoritative statement on this point, but it is a generally entertained opinion amongst Hindus. They say that the general drift of the following quotations from Manu, and similar declarations by other authors, is to that effect. The tendency of all the legislation on the subject appears to be towards influencing or terrorising the woman into complete and abject submission to her husband; this is her religion, and only by following out these injunctions can she hope for merit here or

for happiness hereafter. Not only for life is this submission to be manifested, but even death does not dissolve the bonds, as far as she is concerned; all her hopes for the future lie in her continually manifesting, by a life of the most intense misery, her faithfulness to the memory of her lord and master.

> A faithful wife who wishes to attain in heaven the mansion of her husband, must do nothing unkind to him be he living or dead.
> Let her emaciate her body, by living voluntarily on pure flowers, roots, and fruits; but let her not, when her lord is deceased, even pronounce the name of another man.
> Let her continue till death forgiving all injuries, performing hard duties, avoiding every sensual pleasure, and cheerfully practising the incomparable rules of virtue which have been followed by such women as were devoted to one husband.
> A virtuous wife ascends to heaven, though she have no child, if, after the decease of her lord, she devote herself to pious austerity. (v. 156-158, 160.)

This of the woman. A little further on the law is thus laid down for the man :—

> Having thus kindled sacred fires and performed funeral rites to his wife, who died before him, he may marry again and again light the nuptial fire. (v. 168.)

It is not necessary here to dwell upon the miseries of Hindu widowhood, this is touched upon in the paper on Hindu Funerals and also it is a subject of which much is generally known. My task here has been to give some notion of what the religion and religious life of a Hindu woman really consist, and I trust a fair general idea may be gathered on the subject from what has been said. It is perhaps hardly necessary to mention that all I have brought forward has to do with the females of the upper castes. As for the lower castes and the outcastes, there is very little to be said; their religion, as a rule, is little more than demonolatry or fetichism, and that, very often, of the lowest kind. The women are very particular to put upon their foreheads the red mark before spoken of, but of ordinary worship, throughout the day, there is practically none at all, and this may be said of the men as well as of the women. They are all intensely superstitious, and those of them who may be Vaishnavas (worshippers of Vishnu) and who wear upon the forehead the mark of that deity, do, when they put on the marks in the early morning, both men and women, make obeisance to the rising sun, but that seems to be the sum total of the ordinary daily worship. It is a universal custom at night, when

the family lamp is lit, for the women to make obeisance to the flame, but there does not appear to be anything else in the shape of evening worship. In any time of trouble or sickness, especially during the prevalence of any epidemic like cholera or small-pox, or at marriages and other festal seasons, and on the occasion of any family event, *puja* of various kinds is performed, chiefly by the women. The Sudras and those of the like class, will go to the village temple with offerings of fruit and flowers and coloured powder for the temple deity, which after being presented are distributed to the neighbours who may be present. The outcaste women, who may not go to the village temple, at such seasons adorn a bit of the inner wall of the house with cowdung or saffron, upon which are drawn white or red horizontal lines, and to this obeisance is made and simple offerings of cooked food and fruit or flowers are presented. Besides this there is the sacred tree and the simple village idol, often a mere group of shapeless stones, and to these worship will be made at certain times, by the village women. Sometimes also they will go to festivals or on a pilgrimage to some shrine that may be within their reach; but of ordinary worship, in the usual acceptation of the word, there is very little, if any at all, amongst these lower castes and outcastes. They are strong believers in transmigration, and they think that their future birth will be affected by their good or evil deeds, but practically they may be said to have very little religion at all, as distinct from intense superstition and belief in demonolatry of the most degrading kind.

It will have been gathered from what has been said how low a position is assigned to woman in Hindu theology, and one can only wonder that long ere this she has not broken the shackles that would bind her very soul, and asserted her equality in the eyes of God. There is, however, hope that a change for the better in this respect is really being effected. India is gradually waking up from her long lethargy, and the women of India also are being affected. It may be true that, of the vast mass, comparatively few women, as yet, are reached by the rays of light that are beginning to penetrate even into the inner recesses of Indian homes; but enough has been done, and sufficient evidence is manifest to prove that the new life has begun. Almost imperceptible though it may be to those who are accustomed to look only upon the surface, signs are manifest enough to those who are in a position to judge, of the setting in of the tide which is to bring brightness into the life and hope

for after death to the gentle suffering women of India. This movement may appear but feeble at present, but it is going on and it cannot now be stayed; the hand of God is here and His handiwork is irresistible as the inflowing tide. The whole future of India's greatness is bound up in the emanicipation of her women; and this, we believe, can only be done effectually by the spread of that Divine faith which alone, of all the creeds of the earth, gives woman her true status as the equal with and true complement of man, and which thus makes declaration on this matter :—

> The woman is the glory of the man. For the man is not of the woman; but the woman of the man. Neither was the man created for the woman; but the woman for the man. . . . . Neither is the man without the woman; neither the woman without the man, in the Lord. For as the woman is of the man, even so is the man also by the woman; but all things of God. (1 Cor. xi. 7-9, 11, 12.)

J. E. Padfield.

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*EUROPE IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.**

History repeats itself. The complaints—ill-founded for the most part, as it seems to me—of the want of discipline in our South-Indian students, and the commendable advocacy of the erection of hostels for their accommodation, with which we are so familiar to-day, might seem to be the faint echoes of similar but much stronger complaints and advocacy borne to us from the distant Thirteenth Century.

If we transport ourselves, for example, back some seven hundred years and visit Oxford as it was then, what do we find? We find it a hive of education. Not only is it rich in monasteries, in each of which is being trained a body of young monks to carry on the literary pursuits which played so large a part in the life of the cloister, but here and there, at short intervals, we come upon a school conducted by a teacher more or less distinguished and expert, while students, many or few, hang upon his words. The lesson is finished, each student goes his own way, seeks his own lodging, or spends his time after his own sweet will. Books he has none. Probably he

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* A Lecture delivered to the Presidency College Literary Society, on March 22, 1895.

is a poor peasant lad, wanting in self-control, with no cultured interests, but ready for any excitement that appeals to his appetite or his love of mischief or his English pugnacity. The records of the time set student-life before us in a very dark light. Constant brawls disturb the streets, the teachers even joining in faction-fights in which students from one county array themselves against those of another. Thefts and murders are common. The tavern and the house of ill-fame see many students as much as the school.

To such a height did disorder rise that on one occasion the very Pope found it necessary to interfere—to lay an interdict upon the town and forbid any lecturing within it.

Remedial measures became necessary. The beginning of the Thirteenth Century saw the heads of the schools combining for this purpose. It is from this time that the University of Oxford, that is, the united body of Oxford Schools, dates, with its Chancellor, some sort of Council, and a common fund. A further step was taken when the Council commenced the practice of granting licences to certain responsible people, commissioning them to keep lodging-houses, or, as they were called, Halls, in which fixed rules of discipline were to be enforced. Such Halls provided advantages for study which the quieter and more industrious students were glad to avail themselves of. But the majority of students seem to have preferred to be free from such control. These 'chamber-dekyns', as they were called, because they lived in rooms in private houses, created a problem which the University could not effectually deal with until the Fifteenth Century. The Halls, however, which corresponded somewhat to the Hostels with which we are becoming familiar to-day, were of no inconsiderable assistance in its solution. The Hall was the contribution of the first half of the Thirteenth Century to the cause of academic discipline. It was destined to be superseded by a rival institution dating from the second half of the century. This was the College. The credit of establishing the first English College must be given to Walter de Merton, who in 1274 provided for the maintenance at Oxford of a body of students living together in a self-governing community, under their own officers, with funds of their own, spending their time in study and independent of outside teaching. The members of the College, unlike those of the Hall, could not choose their own classes or teachers. Their education had to be sought not outside the walls but within them. They resided not in a Hostel but in the building in which their classes met. The advantages alike to the students' studies

and to discipline are obvious. The College Library, association with their teachers, a communism of learning, gave them opportunities of progress wanting to their rivals of the Hall, not to speak of the chamber-dekyns. And the fact that they were under rules admirably adapted to mould their character, and that those who taught them in the class-room watched over them outside, added potent influences on the side of their moral training.

The idea was fruitful. Whether under the influence of Merton's example or not—this perhaps cannot be decided—in 1282 Devorguilla Balliol, mother of John Balliol who afterwards became King of Scotland, and the first of those noble benefactresses to whom the English Universities owe so much, established a College which even to-day holds the intellectual pre-eminence at Oxford ; and ten years later the University itself established a College which still bears its name.

I have spoken of Oxford only so far, because it is in its case that the records give in fullest detail the facts of the development I have described. But Cambridge in the Thirteenth Century had a similar history. Disorders of the same kind—though not, an old Cantab is glad to believe, of the same extent—were met by similar, perhaps greater, wisdom, and St. Peter's College at Cambridge evolved itself in 1284 on lines similar to those of Merton at Oxford. The Thirteenth Century, therefore, has left a strong impress upon the English University system.

Neither in Italy and France, nor in Germany and Holland, did the Thirteenth Century create the University, as it did in England. The Italian and French Universities date from the Twelfth, those of other European countries from a later century. But at Paris as at Oxford the first *College* was the birth of the Thirteenth Century. With this fact before us and remembering that the other European Universities were more or less based upon Paris and Oxford, shall we be wrong in calling the Thirteenth Century the mother of Universities ?

Let us take a broader view. Oxford and Cambridge were towns marked out from their fellows by their being great centres of education. In their case that accident perhaps obscures the features which distinguish towns in general in this century. No one would claim that the town is the creation of the Thirteenth Century. Many of the old Roman municipia in Italy and France had maintained their organisation throughout the invasion and settlement of the Teutonic nations. In England certain towns like London and York

had existed for a thousand years. In Germany the Saxon Emperors two centuries before had founded or developed boroughs that were to continue to this day. Still the modern town may be said broadly to date from the Thirteenth Century. Hitherto most towns had been the property of barons or bishops or kings. Theoretically nothing distinguished them from the rural tracts around them. The townsmen were entirely subject to their feudal lord as being villeins whom he had allowed to settle on his demesne. A theory applicable only to poor and degraded agricultural labourers was supposed to bind prosperous merchants and skilful artisans. The result was inevitable. The townsmen combined to secure their deliverance from the impracticable and oppressive system. The lord had been accustomed to deal with each separately, exacting from each such services and payments as he rightly or wrongly claimed. These exactions linked the townsmen together by a common financial grievance, and naturally a remedy was soon found. Forming what was known as a gild, the townsmen prevailed upon the lord to deal with them as a body. The gild covenanted to pay the lord a fixed sum in lieu of the services and payments hitherto exacted from each townsman separately. The necessities of the lords and the growing strength of the towns led to such proposals being generally accepted. Indeed in many cases the lord was glad to accept, not an agreement to pay an annual rent, but payment of a lump sum down in extinction of all claims upon the townsmen for ever.

Thus each town acquired a corporate existence. The townsmen were members of a common gild, with a common council, and a common fund. This collectivist movement had made itself felt in some degree before the Thirteenth Century began. The Lombard cities had secured these advantages by force of arms even against the great Emperor Frederick Barbarossa himself. In England London had held them for a century, and Richard I. had granted them to a few other towns in exchange for payments which he needed for his Crusade. But it was the Thirteenth Century that saw the general adoption of the principle. In England the necessities of John wrung from him charters for towns upon the royal demesnes. In France the movement was no less general. The great Flemish cities, such as Antwerp, Bruges, Ghent, asserted their rights against their lords by successful war. The German cities simultaneously secured their freedom. When in 1297 Edward I. yielded all claim to raise from English towns any tax without the consent of Parliament, the struggle may be said to have ended.

These charters, however, gave the boroughs no part in the politics of the nation. They secured to them a freedom from exactions and a right of combination which brought commercial advantages of great value. And yet while the Church and the Baronage had a weighty share in the Councils of the nation, the towns whose commerce contributed so much to the wealth of the kingdom and which had at least as vital an interest in its good government as any lord or cleric, had no voice in its administration.

The same century that set them free from their local oppressors brought to them political enfranchisement too. The financial needs of the kings combined with the claims of the towns to secure their representation in the National Councils. Almost simultaneously representatives of the Commons appear in the English Parliament, of the Third Estate in the States-General of France, of the Boroughs in the Cortes of Castile, of the Free Cities in the Diet of the Empire, of the Towns in the Danish Hof and in the Sicilian Council.

So quick was the life of the towns that the same century which saw their local and political enfranchisement saw also the fullest application of the borough spirit. In well-ordered nations the town need seek *nothing* more than its share in the national organisation. But in the loosely-compacted Empire, the cities sought a security amid the prevalent disunion and civil war, which the National Councils could not obtain for them.

The combination which had brought to each deliverance from exactions and to all political power, they used to secure the safety of their commerce. In the middle of the century two great leagues were formed among the German Cities with this object. The great ports of the North, with Hamburg and Lübeck at their head, formed themselves into the Hanseatic League, which dominated the trade of Northern and Western Europe for three centuries at least and has only expired in our own day. Further south simultaneously arose the great League of the Rhine—a confederation of the cities of Western and Southern Germany which contributed in no small degree to the preservation of Germany from utter disintegration.

I think it may be asserted that not until the beginning of this century, in England at any rate, did civic life receive or require any fresh impulse or evolve any new principle. The movement of the Thirteenth Century which quickened the towns into such vigorous life was on lines which met the needs of our boroughs till the era of Reform.

Once more let us widen our view. As the University led us to the Town, so may the Town lead us to the Nation. From this point of view what is the history of England in the Thirteenth Century? It is needless to say that it may be summed up in a phrase—the formation of the English nation. The loss of Normandy and his other continental possessions by John broke off the connexion with France that had been the backbone of the resistance of the Normans to absorption in the English. The struggles of the reigns of John and of Henry III. linked all sections of the community together in opposition to the foreigner. The wars of Edward I. united the nation still more; and even a greater bond of national union was the Parliament which he established. A national literature leaped into existence. Layamon's Brut, the Ormulum, Havelok the Dane, and Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle were the outcome of the awakened national sentiment of the age. How Wales and Scotland were fired by the national spirit we all know. To the outbreak of the Welsh wars for independence and the outburst of Welsh song in the one case, and to the movement which found its culmination in Wallace and Bruce in the other I need scarcely refer.

It was not in Britain alone that the national spirit asserted itself, more or less successfully. When the century opened, France was a congeries of states, of which the French kingdom—confined almost to a circle round Paris—was but one, and by no means the greatest either in extent or power. But the suzerainty which the French King possessed over even the more powerful rulers gave opportunities of unification which were taken full advantage of by the able and unscrupulous Philip Augustus and his successors. John's dominions were declared forfeit for his crimes and annexed to the royal domains. This at once placed in the hands of the French King by far the greatest power in France. As yet, however, to the south of the country the kingdom did not extend, but as the result of the Crusade against the Albigenses, it gradually acquired the large territories of Toulouse, and stretched itself to the Pyrenees and the Mediterranean. On the north-east also the kingdom made most important annexations, which brought it into contact with Germany. By the end of the century, the ultimate unification of the country was practically secured. Two conflicts tended to establish a feeling of unity throughout France. Early in the century a league was formed between John of England, Otto IV. of Germany, and the Count of Flanders, for the partition

of the dominions of Philip Augustus. The project united all Frenchmen in resistance to it. In the Battle of Bouvines in 1214 France crushed the coalition—the first occasion on which it would be accurate to speak of *France* as a whole doing anything.

The second conflict to which I referred was the contest between the French prince Charles of Anjou and the German dynasty of Hohenstaufen for the kingdom of Naples. On each side, it is true, was but a faction of the nation represented. But the national spirit overlooked such limitations and saw only French and Germans contending. The climax of the struggle was reached when after the French Charles had secured the throne, the German Conradin invaded his dominions in order to oust him. The armies met at Tagliacozzo on August 23, 1268. At first the German chivalry carried all before them but by skilful generalship the victory was snatched from them ere the close. Conradin was taken, and after a mock trial was beheaded as a rebel for endeavouring in fair fight to recover from the French usurper the throne of his fathers. The murder of the brave young chivalrous prince deeply impressed the mind of Europe. But what concerns us more here is that it stamped the battle of Tagliacozzo ineffaceably on the memory of France and Germany. With it may be said to have opened that long rivalry of the two nations, which more than anything else has made the history of Europe what it is. It has been said that the capture of Napoleon III. at Sedan was Germany's revenge for the death of Conradin. The epigram is even more of an exaggeration than most epigrams are; but that it could be made illustrates the importance of Tagliacozzo in regard to the spirit of nationality.

The Thirteenth Century brought to poor distracted Germany little assistance in the direction of unity. A succession of rival competitors for the Empire divided it almost throughout the century. Yet even in Germany the national spirit made itself felt. To its most important manifestation we shall return later. Here it will be sufficient to call attention to the fact that it was in this century that the German language was first used in the promulgation of laws.

Even in Italy national feeling stirred. The resistance to the German Emperors offered by the so-called Guelf Cities was mainly due to this growing sentiment. But that it was national, not simply anti-German, was brutally shown when in the Vespers of Palermo in 1282 the Sicilians rose against Charles of Anjou and massacred every Frenchman upon their island.

In most of the other countries of Europe some development of this spirit might be traced. But in none was it so manifest as in Spain. It is true that there *two* Christian kingdoms besides Portugal divided the allegiance of the Spaniards. But in face of the Muhammadan Moors, who held the fairest part of the peninsula, all rivalry vanished. Castile and Aragon might share the honour of championing Christendom, but "St. James for *Spain*" was the rallying cry of both alike. And so province after province was snatched from the Moor until Granada alone remained, the last foot-hold of Islam in Europe. In the struggle was born the literature of Spain. Its first songs probably go back to a few years before 1200. But it was in the Thirteenth Century that Spanish poetry really took form and that Spanish prose was first written. The national territory, character, language, and literature of Spain are inseparably connected with the Thirteenth Century.

I have already said that seven hundred years ago France was a congeries of practically independent states. So far as law existed, each state had its own law. Rules binding in one county were not binding in its neighbour. Though all might recognize the King of France as paramount lord, yet was there no common law which he could claim to enforce. Moreover, it must not be overlooked that so long as Feudalism prevailed, little law was required. Just as under a Patriarchal System law is scanty because the word of the father takes the place of law within the family, so, to some extent at least, under a Feudal System, law is scanty because the rule of the lord takes its place within his fief.

Now by the Thirteenth Century Feudalism was beginning to decay. Accordingly laws were needed. In France, therefore, this century was marked by the inauguration of legislation. And this legislation was not provincial but national. In 1223 was enacted the first law common to France. It is probable that many of the laws attributed to Louis IX. are not authentic, but there can be no doubt that he passed many for the governance of the whole of France. In addition we find that the old Roman Law was applied, theoretically at least, to the whole country. This important component of nationality—the possession of a common law—was not lacking to Thirteenth Century France.

A similar development characterised most of the nations of Europe. Even Germany shows traces of it. The Sicilian kingdom received laws. In Denmark Waldemar the Conqueror and in Norway King

Magnus drew up codes regulating the feudal jurisdictions and bringing all their subjects under a common law.

In England the power of Feudalism had been broken by the kings before it showed signs of decay on the Continent. The beginning of a common law in England is therefore earlier than elsewhere. This had been the great work of Henry II., but it still required completion. This was the work of Edward I. He facilitated the administration of the Common Law. He boldly faced the needs of the time, and by statute after statute, well devised and thoroughly enforced, the English Justinian established on the ruins of Feudalism a better system.

A similar work was done in Spain, though with less executive ability, by Alfonso the Wise of Castile. To him Spain owed a system of law, skilfully arranged and ably expounded and advocated in the first Spanish prose work—*Las Siete Partidas.* It is unnecessary to elaborate the point that for Western Europe the Thirteenth Century brought Law—National Law.

We have passed from the University to the Town, from the Town to the Nation. Once more let us widen our view. Western Europe was bound together into one whole by two bonds. Theoretically it had a common secular head—the Emperor. It had also a common spiritual head—the Pope. It expressed this union by a title which theoretically should have applied to the whole of it—the Holy Roman Empire. Contemporary foes expressed it by giving the common name of *Franks* to all its people. We sometimes express it by calling it Latin Christendom.

In this Latin Christendom, then, what were the characteristics of the Thirteenth Century? On the secular side there were several interesting minor points worthy of a word. The Imperial system was bound up with Feudalism. The decay of the latter we have noted: the decay of the former inevitably followed. The infantry of the cities proved more than a match for the knighthood of Feudalism, and the invention of gunpowder at this period was destined to revolutionise warfare. The unity of Western Europe found its chief expression in the Crusades. But the Thirteenth Century brought also another bond of union in the dread of the Tartars, who under the successors of Genghis Khan burst upon Europe. From the West they were beaten back, but Russia they overthrew utterly, breaking up its territory and imposing a yoke upon it that lasted for nearly three centuries, and inflicting a check upon its progress towards civilisation, from which it has not recovered to this day.

On the religious side more perhaps ought to be said. Three distinct movements may be traced. The first was directed towards the consolidation of the Church; the second towards its purification; the third towards its extension.

At the opening of the Thirteenth Century Innocent III. was Pope —the greatest with the exception of Hildebrand in the whole series. He boldly claimed that all secular rulers held their crowns subject to his sanction. All the nations of Western Europe were subject to him through their princes whom he claimed to appoint, suspend, or depose at will. Never was universal dominion so boldly claimed, never was claim so strenuously enforced. John of England was compelled to yield up his crown to the Pope. Two successive Emperors took their crowns as his nominees. The principle might seem established. The Popes indeed never surrendered it. At the close of the century Pope Boniface VIII. asserted it with even more peremptoriness than Innocent III. had done. But as we have seen, national spirit had been rising throughout the Thirteenth Century, and the kings were emboldened to throw off the Papal yoke. The submission which Hildebrand had secured from the Franconian Henry IV. and Innocent III. from John was successfully refused by their successors. For nearly half a century Frederick II. resisted the terrors of the Papacy. When Boniface set up the Papal authority against the kings of England and France, and forbade the clergy to pay taxes to the State, he was successfully defied. Edward I. declared the clergy out of law, withholding from them the advantages of a government towards the maintenance of which they refused to contribute. Philip of France forbade the clergy to pay money to the Pope. In face of such measures the Pope had perforce to give way. When a little later he put forward again claims which Philip found obnoxious, the question was settled by his forcible seizure and imprisonment. The Papacy, which at the beginning of the Thirteenth Century disposed of empires and kingdoms, at the beginning of the Fourteenth had become the servile tool of French royalty. For no longer did nations support the Pope against their kings: they rallied round their kings as their champions against Papal tyranny and aggression. The national awakening it was that humbled the Papacy and for an Innocent lording it at Rome or a Hildebrand trampling on kings at Canossa substituted the death of a Boniface like a dog in his Anagni dungeon and the so called Babylonish captivity of his successors at Avignon. Bravely had the Popes striven to maintain the secular power of the

Papacy, but the forces of the Thirteenth Century were opposed to it and shattered it to fragments. Thus failed the Papal movement towards the secular consolidation of the power of the Church.

The two other movements to which I have referred were more in harmony with the spirit of the century. The attempt to purify the Church which characterised the Thirteenth Century was twofold. The Christianity of Europe was, so far as the people were concerned, scarcely more than nominal. If the priests and the monks might charitably be regarded as followers of Christ, scarcely any one else made any profession of religion. Religion was left to the clergy. Such was the state of things that led Francis and Dominic to institute their Orders of Friars. Unlike the monks their work was to save others, not to seek their own salvation. Unlike the priests who performed the ceremonies in a fixed locality, the friars were itinerant preachers. Their mission was to rouse the people to a living religion. Everywhere they were to go, and by their example, by striking actions, by their appearance, by their simple discourse, to lead people to an imitation of Christ. With a coarse garment, bound with a rope instead of a girdle, barefoot, begging their food as they went, vowed to chastity, poverty, and obedience, they spread throughout Europe, teaching by practice and precept alike the lessons of Christianity. With characteristic insight and foresight Innocent III. blessed them and organised them—an international army of Christians in earnest, labouring for the evangelisation of the masses. And not the least triumph of the Thirteenth Century was the successful assertion of the truth that a man engaged in secular work may be as truly a servant of God as any monk or priest. How welcome was this truth was shown by the number throughout Europe who joined the Third Order of Francis—composed of kings like Louis IX. of France, princesses like his mother and St. Elizabeth of Hungary, and others in every grade of life, who, though unable to become friars in the proper sense of the word, were pledged to imitate the spirit of Jesus in the condition of society in which they moved.

On its other side the movement for the purification of Christendom aimed at its doctrinal purity. Everywhere the clergy began to scent heresy. In 1203 Innocent III. established the Inquisition for detecting heretics and bringing them to renounce their errors. In 1208 he summoned the king and nobles of France to extirpate the Albigenses, a sect of Christians dwelling in some of the provinces of Southern France, who combined much truth with

some error of doctrine but purity of life. Three great nobles took up arms in their defence, and for twenty years the conflict raged. The spirit in which the so-called Crusaders carried it on may be judged by the directions given by the Papal Legate when they took Beziers, one of the leading Albigensian towns. "Slay all," he cried, "God will know his own." Throughout the Thirteenth Century the Inquisition grew in power. How thoroughly it harmonised with the spirit of the times may be seen in the fact that with general approval Louis IX. of France asked, after seeing its work in the Albigensian district, that it might be extended to all his dominions.

But it was not only with secular arms that the Church withstood heresy. That heresy existed was a sign that men were beginning to think for themselves. And indeed, since the fall of the Roman Empire, knowledge and thought had made no advance to compare with that which they made in the Thirteenth Century. The intellectual awakening of Europe was as marked as its political. The First Renaissance, as it has been called, was one of its most striking features. The long life of Roger Bacon, perhaps the greatest name in science between Aristotle and Newton, was included within the century. The advance of literature was equally marked. The first half of the century was the age of the Troubadours. Its last years saw the opening of the career of Dante. But it was in philosophy that the greatest revolution took place. At the beginning of the century Aristotle, studied by the Arabs, was regarded as the deadliest foe of the Christian system. In 1200 his writings on Physics were formally proscribed by the Pope as the representative of the Church. Six years later his Metaphysics was included under the same ban. But such restrictions could not prevent the development of so fruitful a study; all they did effect was to confine it to those for whom the Papal anathemas had no terrors. Hitherto Aristotle's writings had been known to the West only in Arabic translations. But under the protection of Frederick II., whose consideration for his Saracen subjects was in the eyes of the Church one of his greatest faults, their translation into Latin was initiated. Michael Scott, whose learning and association with Saracens in a superstitious age, led to his becoming marked out as the typical devil-aided wizard, carried on the work by translating into Latin the works of the great Arab Aristotelian, Averroes, at the suggestion of Frederick. The movement spread throughout Europe. Wherever a scholar's desire for knowledge conquered the fear of

ecclesiastical censure, there was Aristotle studied. The New Learning was thus in opposition to the Church.

But Christianity has nothing to fear from argument and knowledge, and a few liberal-minded Christian thinkers studying Aristotle found their faith strengthened by their study. Instead, therefore, of denouncing the new learning, they welcomed it as the most valuable ally of religion. At Oxford Bishop Grossetête translated Aristotle's works for the benefit of English students. Alexander of Hales, an Englishman, who became the greatest Professor of his time at Paris, was the first to turn the new philosophy to account in the defence of orthodox Christianity. So well did the Irrefutable Teacher, as he was called, do his work, that from that time forward Aristotle, from being proscribed, became only too much of an idol to Western thinkers. In all Universities, Franciscan and Dominican teachers tried to gain the chairs of the new philosophy, with such success that it speedily became identified with the cause of orthodoxy. Not fifty years after the proscription of his works, Aristotle was officially pronounced by the Church, "the precursor of Christ in natural knowledge as John the Baptist was in spiritual."

But the climax of this movement was reached when St. Thomas of Aquinum, the greatest thinker of the century, gave his life to the elaboration of a system in which Aristotelianism and orthodox Christianity were inextricably blended, and when this system was officially adopted by the Roman Church as their authoritative guide. Thus the Schoolmen, as they were called, claimed for orthodoxy the intellectual movement which had almost been driven into opposition, and postponed for at least a century that divorce between Roman Christianity and Science which has, alas, continued to our own day. A nobler weapon this in the struggle with heresy than the fire and the sword with which de Montfort's father essayed to *convert* the Albigensians of Southern France.

But the Thirteenth Century witnessed the endeavour of Latin Christendom not only to establish itself in one unblemished whole, free from sectarian divisions and doctrinal errors, but also to extend its borders. Here also we see the lower and the higher methods both employed. On the one hand force, on the other moral argument, on the one hand the Crusader, on the other the Missionary. Students of history will remember how not only against the Moslems of Palestine but against the Greek Christians of Constantinople were the arms of Latin Crusaders turned—how for half the century the Eastern Empire, so long divided even more by

religious differences than by political from the Western, was held for the Roman faith. On the North-East Latin Christendom spread itself by victorious war amongst the Lithuanians and Slavs. On the South-West the great fight at Tolosa in 1218 settled that Spain was to belong to Christendom, not Islam. And though manifestly the crusading spirit was dying, it had vigour enough still to aim at the conquest of Egypt as well as Palestine for Latin Christendom.

But there were those who sought the conversion of non-Christians by higher means. King Louis IX. of France, though against Islam he led two Crusades, sought by his influence and words to convert the Dey of Tunis. But it was without any use of arms that others took up the work. The example was set by St. Francis of Assisi, the founder of the Order of Friars, who conceived the idea that the true way to deal with unbelievers was not to assail them with lance and sword but to win them to Christianity by love and teaching. Fired with the hope of ending the struggle between Christendom and Islam by one act, he accompanied the Fifth Crusade to Egypt. Then from the camp he sallied forth alone to seek the conversion of the Sultan. Captured and brought before him he explained his aim and unfolded his message. He boldly offered to submit the truth of the two religions to the test of fire, offering to enter a furnace with any Muhammadan teacher, if the Sultan would accept Christianity if the test resulted in his favour. From such an ordeal the Muhammadan teachers shrank. Charmed by his grace and filled with admiration for his faith and fervour, with Eastern courtesy the Sultan listened, bade him repeat his visit, and provided for his safety. But his mission was in vain.

Later in the century one of his followers, a Spanish noble, Raymond Lull, set himself to perfect a system of thought and a process of argument which should convince the Moors of the claims of Christ. Nine years too he laboured at their language to fit himself for his work. Thus he became the first Missionary in the modern sense of the word, and still remains the greatest that Christendom has sent to Islam. His pathetic martyrdom belongs to the next century, but his spirit was the growth of the Thirteenth, and not the least honour of that great century is that in the midst of what seemed the irreconcilable hate of the two religions it should yet be able to claim the revival of the true self-sacrificing missionary spirit, evangelistic and ready for martyrdom, in Francis and Raymond Lull.

When I chose this subject it was with the idea of dwelling upon

the Thirteenth Century as that in which the great idea of Representative Government took form, revolutionising the political world. But as already in this course an able lecture has dealt with that subject, at least with reference to England, I need only say that it was the government not only of England but of every nation of Western Europe that this great movement affected. Other features of the century on which I wished to dwell I have been compelled to pass over from want of time. I could have wished to speak of the Architecture of the century—perhaps the sublimest effort of human art. The growth of Romance and the culmination of Chivalry might also have detained us. This and much else that helps to make the Thirteenth Century perhaps the greatest in History I must leave to your own consideration. But in a word or two I should like to gather up the threads of our review. I have tried to lead you gradually from the narrow to the broad. Beginning with the few University towns, I have set before you the towns in general, then the nations, and then that union of nations which we call Latin Christendom. At each stage we have found life and movement. Whatever charge may be brought against the Thirteenth Century that of lifelessness cannot be. Everywhere awakening, everywhere the energy of youthfulness. This youthful energy is conjoined with a youthful enthusiasm and idealism. The century is one fertile in ideas. It invented, if not the University, the College. If it did not invent, it developed, civic life. It practically invented Representative Government. It reinvented the nation. It set before itself the idea of a Universal Latin Church. It invented the preaching friar. It set up the Inquisition. Its inventiveness cannot be questioned. And mark how high were some of its ideals! And yet how practical it was. I had almost called it the Century of the Realisation of Ideals. It certainly was in many aspects the Century of Faith, the Faith that laughs at impossibilities. The disorder of the Oxford students irrepressible? It shall be cured. The problem of the town insoluble? It shall be solved. Popular government of a state larger than a town impossible? It shall be attained. Christianity and philosophy irreconcilable? They shall be reconciled. Incredible that Islam shall become Christian? It shall be gained for Christ. Impossible for a man to reproduce the life of Christ? Francis cries, It shall be done. Nothing was too high to aim at; nothing too difficult to attain.

And in view of this idealism and faith how important is this next characteristic. You will have noticed that at each stage to which

I have led you the ideal was one of unity and the method by which it was sought was combination. Fellowship was one of the watchwords of the century. Hence the College, the Town Gild, the Nation, the United Church. Hence, it is true, the heresy-hunt and the prostituted Fourth Crusade. But hence also the Common Law, the Parliament of the Nation, the international Orders of Friars, and bonds of chivalrous courtesy.

And so I think not wrongly may we style it the century of awakening, of great and fruitful ideas, of youthful enthusiasm, of high ideals for every part of life: the Century of Organisation, of Order, and of Faith.

I should have liked to depict for you four of its representative men, but time fails. The first should have been Frederick II. the Emperor. Able to speak all the languages of his varied realm, the friend of his Saracen subjects when to befriend them was regarded by Christians with reprobation, dauntless under all the thunders of a triple excommunication, seeing in all mankind his kindred, and owning no narrow limitations of humanity such as the isms of of his day demanded, cosmopolitan in his tastes, the patron of art, the foster-father of Italian literature, the donor of Aristotelianism to the Latin races—rightly was he styled 'The Wonder of the World'.

Second should have been St. Louis, Louis IX. of France, the father, law-giver, judge, and protector of his people; amongst the warriors of the age the first in skill and courage and chivalry; in captivity leading his captors captive by his grace and cheerfulness; who because he feared God had no other fear; revered as never was king before or since while he lived, and canonised after his death with the acclaim of an admiring and grateful world.

Then our own Edward I., the greatest of the Plantagenets, the last of the Crusaders, whose aim was ever peace and order, whose work throughout life was organisation and union, whose maxim in politics was "What concerns all should be arranged by all;" whose motto, graven on his tomb, was "Serva pactum"—Keep thy covenant.

And last I would have wished to set before you the purest and noblest spirit perhaps that the Roman Catholic Church ever produced—St. Francis of Assisi. Ascetic and visionary perhaps he was. But one thing he saw before him—the example of Jesus. Compromise for him was impossible. With excessive literalism he set himself to follow the example of his master. He renounced

all his wealth, he submitted himself to privations, he went about doing good. With such intensity did he meditate upon the sufferings of Jesus that on his body appeared the prints of the wounds inflicted on Christ at His crucifixion.

Such were the men who helped to give to the Thirteenth Century its importance in History. Their example is certainly not to be commended for our imitation in all things, for with much that was excellent they combined more or less that was defective or even vicious. Differing as they did in many qualities, they agreed in these—love of order, the cherishing of high ideals, and resolute endeavour to realise them. And it is men of these qualities that we need to-day, men not such as will dream or talk, but men who will *do*. If but the men of the rising generation of India be men of this character, then—and then only—will the immediate future bring to this great country a regeneration, political, social, religious, such as that which Europe experienced in the Thirteenth Century.

F. W. KELLETT.

LITERARY NOTICES.

Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde. By Archibald Forbes. English Men of Action. London and New York: Macmillan and Co.

MR. ARCHIBALD FORBES opens his account of the life and work of Colin Campbell with an illustration of the many curious contrasts presented by the careers of distinguished men in the British Army. Among the officers who sailed for the Crimea in the spring of 1854 were three veterans who had seen service in the Peninsular War. Of these Lord Raglan was commander-in-chief of the expeditionary army, Sir John Burgoyne was a lieutenant-general on the staff and second in command, while Sir Colin Campbell had just been nominated to the command of a brigade. Yet whereas in the thirty years that had gone by since Waterloo, neither Lord Raglan nor Sir John Burgoyne had heard a shot fired in anger, Sir Colin Campbell had seen much hard service in many parts of the world. He had not fought without honour, but for eighteen years he had had to serve in the capacity of a field-officer commanding a regiment. Even in the British military service, however, says Mr. Forbes, the aphorism occasionally holds good that everything comes to him who knows how to wait; and the last eight years of Sir Colin Campbell's military career were in marked contrast with the preceding twenty, so that in the matter of promotion his life as a whole became a contrast to the lives of several of his distinguished contem-

poraries. In spite of hope deferred and more than one grievous disappointment, he attained the highest rank in the service, and died "lamented by the Queen, the army, and the people."

Colin Campbell certainly deserves a place among the 'English Men of Action'; and in many respects Mr. Archibald Forbes is well qualified to tell the story of his life. He has evidently found his subject a very congenial one; and he has gone about his work in a very straightforward way. He does not maintain that his hero had no faults or that his actions were always beyond criticism, but he is enthusiastic in appreciation of those qualities of head and heart that endeared the gallant soldier alike to officers and men; and where he has to speak of questions in which Campbell's decisions were overruled he usually records his belief in the soundness of Campbell's judgment. This is especially evident in what he says of the way in which Sir Colin Campbell set about and carried through the work of putting down the Indian Mutiny. He lays great stress on the thoroughness and the comprehensiveness of Sir Colin's plans and on the skill with which many of the details were carried out. He also calls special attention to the small sacrifice of life with which Sir Colin carried out many of his important designs, and generally praises him for the great care which he took of the men entrusted to his command. At the same time he does not omit to say that Sir Colin did not hesitate to sacrifice life when he was convinced that there was no other way of attaining the end in view; and certain it is that Sir Colin never hesitated to put himself in the front of the fray. The space at Mr. Forbes's disposal does not admit of his going very deeply into questions of military tactics; but one thing stands out clearly in his account of the Mutiny operations, and that is the tremendous importance in war of a well directed artillery. To the way in which he used the artillery at his command Sir Colin Campbell owed much of his success.

We quote here two passages which throw much light on the character of Colin Campbell as a man and a soldier.

"Colin Campbell," says Mr. Forbes, "had a genuine liking for and a thorough knowledge of the private soldier. Throughout life he was by no means slow to wrath when occasion stirred it, and sometimes, indeed, when the incentive was inadequate, for hot Highland blood ran in his veins; and when his face flushed and his gray eyes scintillated with passion, he was not a man with whom it were wise to argue. The slack officer and the bad soldier found no sympathy from a chief whose rebukes were strong and whose punishments were stern; but he had a true comradeship with those in whom he recognised some of that zeal of which he himself had perhaps an excess. Himself ever sedulous in the fulfilment of duty and sparing himself in nothing, he required of his officers a scrupulous attention to their duties in everything regarding the instruction, well-being, and conduct of their men."

On the eve of his departure from India Lord Clyde issued the following order :—

"On leaving this country I take the opportunity of thanking the officers and soldiers of the two services for their valour and endurance, so severely tried, especially in the early part of the insurrection. History does not furnish a finer display of heroical resistance to many adverse conditions than was shown by the British troops during those mutinies. The memory of their constancy and daring will never die out in India; and the Natives must feel that while Britain possesses such sons the rule of the British Sovereign must last undisputed. Soldiers, both British and Native, I bid you farewell; and I record as my latest word, that the bravery and endurance of which I have spoken with admiration, could not alone have insured success. That success was owing in a great measure to your discipline, which is the foundation of all military virtues, and which, I trust, will never be relaxed."

As we have already said, Mr. Forbes has found in Colin Campbell a congenial subject; and he has told his interesting story in a very straightforward way. His style is by no means perfect, and his choice of language is not always happy. But this will not prevent his book from furnishing much pleasure to a wide circle of readers.

Chapters from some Unwritten Memoirs. By Anne Thackeray Ritchie. London: Macmillan and Co., 1894.

To all who delight to spend an hour or two among the literary celebrities of forty years ago we commend this little volume. It leads us back into the world of a bygone generation. A strange old world it seems, with its salons, its grand tours, its stage coaches, its dignified stately manners, and a delicate flavouring of French pervading the whole. Only a little more than a generation has passed since the incidents narrated took place, yet the atmosphere of the world in which the authoress moves might well be that of a hundred years ago.

The merit of the book is the charmingly simple style which Mrs. Ritchie has unfailingly at her command. It is nothing more nor less than an interesting talk about men and women who have won a place in the affections of the world. Her own personality is never obtruded on the reader, and her life, so far as it appears, serves only as a thread on which to hang her reminiscences of friends now historical. Few now living can have had half the opportunities enjoyed by the daughter of Thackeray of knowing his eminent contemporaries in literature and art Thackeray was no recluse; his hospitable home was a centre of literary life; he was himself in touch with most of those in his day whose names are now household words; and his family, as we can learn from his daughter's narrative, shared in this privilege. In the *Memoirs* we get glimpses of

those eminent personages as they appeared to a young girl of the Thackeray family.

To review such a book is but to cull from it, though so many figures pass before us that it is difficult to select. Of one of these we get a glimpse in the following sentences:—

"We were walking across Kensington Square early one morning, when we heard some one hurrying after us and calling my father by his name. This was one of Byron's friends. A bright-eyed, active old man, with long wavy white hair, and a picturesque cloak flung over one shoulder. I can see him still, as he crossed the corner of the square and followed us with a light rapid step. My father, stopping short, turned back to meet him, greeting him kindly and bringing him home with us to the old brown house at the corner where we were then living. There was a sort of eagerness and vividness of manner about the stranger which was very impressive. You could not help watching him and his cloak, which kept slipping from its place, and which he caught at again and again. We wondered at his romantic, foreign looks, and his gaiety and bright, eager way. Afterwards we were told that this was Leigh Hunt."

Another shadow out of the past is Miss Brontë, "a tiny, delicate, serious little lady, pale, with fair straight hair, and steady eyes . . . a little over thirty . . . . dressed in a little *barège* dress with a pattern of faint green moss."

Of the early memories the Dickens children's parties stand conspicuous.

"One special party I remember, which seemed to me to go on for years with its kind gay hospitality, its music, its streams of children passing and repassing. We were a little shy coming in alone in all the consciousness of new shoes and ribbons, but Mrs. Dickens called us to sit beside her till the long sweeping dance was over and talked to us as if we were grown up, which is always flattering to little girls . . . . . . Somehow after the music we all floated into a long supper-room, and I found myself sitting near the head of the table by Mr. Dickens, with another little girl much younger than myself; she wore a necklace and pretty little sausage curls round her head. Mr. Dickens was very kind to the little girl, and frequently I heard him persuading her to sing, and he put his arm round her to encourage her, and then, wonderful to say, the little girl stood up (she was little Miss Hullah) and began very shyly, trembling and blushing at first, but as she blushed and trembled she sang more and more sweetly; and then all the *jeunesse dorée*, consisting of the little Dickens boys and their friends, ranged along the supper-table, clapped and clapped, and Mr. Dickens clapped too, smiling and applauding, and then he made a little speech, with one hand on the table; I think it was thanking the *jeunesse dorée* for their applause, and they again clapped and laughed—but here my memory fails me, and everything grows very vague."

We hear, too, of John Leech, of the Goethe family, of Mrs. Kemble, of Mr. and Mrs. Carlyle, of the Kingsleys, and of many others, including the famous Jeames de la Pluche, but best of all are the glimpses the

daughter gives of her father. We learn little new of Thackeray in these pages, but what we do see of him is true to the picture we already know.

Mrs. Ritchie in her dedication alludes to unwritten chapters. These chapters, if they equal the present, the public will rejoice some day to possess.

Macmillan's Colonial Library.

Peter Ibbetson. By George Du Maurier.

MR. DU MAURIER is well known to all readers of *Punch*—that is to all the world—for his elegant sketches and graceful modern figures; but in the volume before us he has taken a new departure, and appears as the exponent of wonderful mysteries and the investigator of the psychology of insanity. The story he has to tell is absorbing to the last degree. It narrates in autobiographical form the history of a man of singular charm, of childlike innocence and purity, whose terrible fate is due to his resentment of an outrage to those nearest and dearest to him—a resentment which passing into prompt and vigorous vengeance branded him with the brand of Cain.

'Gogo' Pasquier, the hero of the autobiography, was the son of a French father and an English mother. His childhood was spent near Passy, in the midst of all the sylvan loveliness which distinguished that district in the time preceding the *Coup d'Etat.* Here he grew up amongst the sweet surroundings of a happy home. Here he became acquainted with that dear frail-bodied little Mimsey who was to exercise so strange an influence over his later life.

Domestic bereavement broke up the charming family circle, and Gogo, taken possession of by a Colonel Ibbetson, a maternal uncle, was metamorphosed into Peter Ibbetson. After a miserable time at the old foundation school in London, Peter quarrelled with his uncle and enlisted in the Household Cavalry. Bought out of this he was articled to a suburban architect. While on a professional visit he met the lovely Duchess of Towers, and then began the mystical side of his existence. He learned eventually that she was the 'Mimsey' of his childhood, and both being in possession of the faculty of "dreaming true" they encountered one another in dreamland and revisited together the scenes of their childhood. Then came the discovery of Colonel Ibbetson's scoundrelly defamation of Madame Pasquier. Peter killed him in fair fight and was condemned to penal servitude for life.

During his convict existence he still met 'Mimsey' in his dreams, and the pair visited in spirit many strange and interesting places. This sweet spirit intercourse was cut short by the death of the Duchess, on which Peter relapsed into mania. From this he was finally released by the influence which had ever been strongest with him, and he remained to all appearance sane till his death.

The actual incidents of the story are, with few exceptions, of an ordinary and trivial character—a meeting and a parting—petty details of average existence—but the interest is in the mysterious semi-consciousness which the author has imagined. Strange and improbable as are these revelations of dreamland there is yet about them no vagueness; they are related with a vividness which brings conviction, whilst the graphic power of narration which Mr. Du Maurier possesses, holds the reader enchained in a sweet melancholy till he lays down the book with a sigh. The book is altogether remarkable and to be recommended.

Seething Days. By Caroline C. Holroyd.

The 'seething days' of this book are those of the close of Edward VI.'s reign when men's minds were disturbed by the question of succession, when Religion and Constitution were alike unsettled. The first page sets forth that the book is "a narrative of part of the life of the honoured Sir Martin Astelo, Priest, sometime Curate of the Parish of Wymbleton, and of his kin, by me, Harry Sture." The said Harry Sture is a retainer of the great Cecil, and becomes involved in the plots of a cousin, who is a wild, reckless, unprincipled fellow. He, however, contrives to preserve the goodwill of his great master, and eventually is rewarded in the orthodox fashion with the hand of the fair maiden for whom he has long sighed.

The story is of the average merit of the modern pseudo-historical tale. It is difficult to say how far a book of this character either aims at, or succeeds in, reproducing the atmosphere of the period with which it deals, but in any case the game hardly seems worth the candle. Human nature is very much the same all the centuries round, and the novelist—be he historic or realistic—has the same passions of love and hate, of fear and anger, of ambition and envy, to deal with.

In the Lion's Mouth. By Eleanor C. Price.

This is a story of the stormy times of the French Revolution. Two children, Betty and Constantine Maynard, are orphaned and left to the care of an uncle. This uncle plays them false, and, grasping at their property, sends them to France. There they are plunged into all the turmoil of the period of unrest and agitation which followed the storming of the Bastille. Placed in the charge of a leader of the Revolution and an ardent follower of the Jacobin teachings, they yet become intimate with the Comte de Meney, a fine specimen of *vieille roche.* This connexion with the two opposed parties leads to considerable embarrassment, but finally the two children throw in their lot with the aristocratic party. After many adventures they reach England in safety and enter into possession of their long deferred inheritance. The story is brightly told and the characters are well depicted.

The Ralstons. By F. Marion Crawford.

Mr. Crawford is fond of sequels. *Saracinesca* had its sequel, and now *Katharine Lauderdale* is followed by *The Ralstons,* without the addition of a single new character, unless it be Mrs. Bright. We do not wish to complain because of our familiarity with the *dramatis personæ*, indeed our previous acquaintance with them only renders them the more interesting. Mr. Crawford, however, proceeds at a leisurely pace in unfolding the plot. The secret marriage of Katharine Lauderdale with her cousin Jack Ralston becomes a matter of public knowledge only at the close of this volume. The time, however, is short, some five months, though long enough, it seems, for Ralston to establish his character as a steady young man who 'sticks to his desk' with a persistence that has elsewhere been rewarded by high position in the Admiralty. But this perhaps scarcely does justice to Mr. Crawford's work. There are three or four strong scenes in the book:—the death of the rich old uncle, the fight between Alexander Junior and his son-in-law, the evening in Mrs. Bright's drawing room, and the scene in the studio of the dead painter, Crowdie. Alexander Junior shows us how the character of a strong, upright man may be pulverised by the domination of the miser's passion for wealth; Hester Crowdie is the incarnation of fiendship and jealousy; and in Mrs. Lauderdale we may see how even a mother's love may be shaken when her daughter's beauty is put in competition with her own. We think that perhaps Mr. Jack Ralston gets more than he deserves and Hamilton Bright less, when the former has secured so safely the love of the girl at whose shrine so much incense is burned. Ralston, however, needed Katherine's devotion to make him the man he was. That rather than desert may explain the method on which the gods distribute their gifts. If Mr. Crawford intends to favour us with another chapter from the family history of the Lauderdales, we hope he will clear up the mystery which attaches to Griggs. As it is, the mysterious relations which we are given to believe existed between Griggs and Crowdie at an early period do not help the story on. Without any explanation of them, they are there posited to account for the friendship of a strong and manly character for an effeminate voluptuary, from whom all other men, and all women except his wife, instinctively shrink.

Far from the Madding Crowd. By Thomas Hardy.

Any series of English novels would be incomplete without the presence of Hardy's *Far from the Madding Crowd.* There are few English novelists of the present day whose works reach such a high level as Hardy's. It is always a difficult task to rank authors in order of merit, for the simple reason that what appeals to one mind has no interest for another, but probably few would question the placing of Hardy as second only to George Meredith. One advantage he has over the latter is that his language is intelligible. Some people there are, no doubt, who would

hesitate to criticise Meredith's English, because they profess to be able to solve his riddles, and affect a superior contempt for those who do not. Still it seems unreasonable from the point of view of art, that any writer should take a page to express an idea which is often not so profound as to defy revelation in a single sentence.

Hardy is a master in the use of terse English. His descriptions of scenery, especially of woodland scenery, are incomparable. Combined with this, too, he is a profound psychologist. Here he is inferior to Meredith, because Meredith's peculiar strength lies in his genius for introspection. Hardy's psychology might be called 'pastoral'; he deals with men and women in their everyday life in the country'; he analyses the motives that prompt their actions. His 'villains' are not cultured Egoists as Meredith's are; they are harsh, passionate animals.

Hardy has written several novels since *Far from the Madding Crowd* appeared. In them probably his paganism has revealed itself more fully, but there is none of his works that display his varied powers and his view of the world so clearly and so interestingly as the story in question. His knowledge of the rustic mind in all its humours, his analysis of woman's character, and his genius for portrayal of landscape,—these and many others of his peculiar powers, are displayed better, in the reviewer's opinion, in this novel, even than in *Tess.* Bathsheba Everdene is much more lifelike than Tess of the D'Urbervilles

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A Prose Anthology. By John Bradshaw, LL.D., and Cecil Barrow, M.A. Madras: V. Kalyanaram Iyer.

THIS work was projected by the late Dr. Bradshaw as a companion volume to his *Anthology* of English poetry. At the time of his death he had not proceeded far with his self-imposed task, and the completion of the work has fallen to Mr. Barrow of the Victoria College, Palghat. It is a bulky volume, extending to nearly six hundred pages. An attempt is made to arrange the pieces in chronological order, and for this purpose the selections are divided into four books:—Malory to Bacon, Milton to the Death of Dryden, Addison to Burke, and Cowper to the Present Time. Apart from the value of the collection in itself, the book ought to serve a useful end. Portions of it might very well be prescribed from time to time for the F.A. Examination. This end, however, would be more conveniently served if the publisher would undertake to issue the four books in as many volumes.

We hoped to find an introductory essay by Mr. Barrow on the History of English Prose Literature, but were disappointed. Mr. Barrow would add to the value of the volume if in a subsequent edition he would include a sketch of the development of English Prose.

A Short History of the Roman Republic. By Mark Hunter, B.A. Madras: V. Kalyanaram Iyer.

Mr. Hunter in preparing his *Introduction to the History of Greece* showed that even in the compilation of a text-book he was able to write with animation and force, and that he could treat with independence material that has become the common property of all workers. In the book before us he maintains his reputation. His two works on ancient history have many of the good qualities of the publications which the scheme of university extension lectures in Britain has produced, while they are more thorough and are fuller of details. Indeed if Mr. Hunter would publish his two books in one volume and if this could be offered at a reasonable price, the University of Madras might do a great deal worse than recommend the book for the F. A. Examination in Ancient History. Mr. Hunter's work would certainly be a great improvement on the book which is at present recommended by the University.

Commercial Geography. By E. C. K. Gonner. Elementary Commercial Class-Books. London and New York: Macmillan and Co.

This is one of the excellent series of manuals edited by Dr. Gow. The book is worthy of the highest praise. The arrangement is scientific and clear, the information is accurate and up to date, and the language is simple, clear, and precise.

Part I. deals with the principles of the subject, and is devoted to the leading physical and political conditions which influence climate, and the necessary conditions of industrial and commercial development. Part II. deals with the geography of the chief commercial products, while Part III. treats of the countries of the world, their agriculture, industries, and commerce. Parts I. and II. are especially valuable, and would form a useful course of reading for any one. Part III. deals with a mass of information in a very clear and interesting manner, and is in great contrast to the general run of geography books. The whole book is eminently suited to the requirements of the Technical Examinations in Commerce, and we should like to see it recommended in the syllabus for Commercial Geography.

The Essays of Francis Bacon, with Introduction, Notes, and Index. By F. W. Kellett, M.A. Madras: Srinivasa, Varadachari, and Co.

We congratulate the publishers on this excellent addition to their College Classics Series. In spite of numerous good annotated editions of the *Essays* there was still room for an Indian edition that would take rank with those of English publishers. This has been secured in the volume now issued. Mr. Kellett has done his work with thoroughness

and accuracy. His introduction on the life, character, and place of Bacon extends to over seventy pages, and is fitted to be of much service to the student of the Essays. An outline of each Essay is prefixed to the Notes, as well as antitheta bearing on each Essay taken from the collection made by Bacon himself. Mr. Kellett's facility in exposition is manifest in the Notes. They are always lucid and helpful. The only critical remark we have to offer is that occasionally the student is left to find his own way through a real obscurity where he would have been glad to have had, and would have benefited by, Mr. Kellett's guidance.

In Mrs. Barnett's *The Making of the Body*: a Children's Book of Physiology and Anatomy (Longmans, Green and Co.) we have a highly praiseworthy attempt to instruct young people in the structure and working of the human body. The chapters are written with admirable clearness, and are well illustrated, while at the same time the reader's interest is kept up by means of instructive and often amusing anecdotes, which have a practical bearing on the subject. Technical terms are everywhere accompanied by their ordinary English equivalents, a plan which must prove useful to children (and to others unacquainted with the classical languages of Europe). The result is, however, somewhat curious in certain cases; for example, the voluntary and involuntary muscles, are termed respectively, the 'willing' and 'wilful' muscles. We are inclined to think that Mrs. Barnett has included more histology in her chapters than was desirable, for this subject is one that a child cannot be expected to make much of. We commend her entertaining book to those about to commence the study of physiology.

NOTES AND EXTRACTS.

In a lecture delivered at the Oxford Mission House, Calcutta, in February last, Mr. W. Lee-Warner drew an instructive contrast between the past and the present, with special reference to the past and the present of India. Even in a conservative country like this, Mr. Lee-Warner said, it was recognised that the modes of life and thought which satisfied the people of ancient times were not sufficient to meet the needs of the present time, and that there was a gulf fixed between the present and the past. This fact, he said, impressed itself forcibly on his mind as he stood, a short time before, amongst the architectural monuments of Bijapur. The conquering race which reared the splendid domes, palaces, mosques, and tombs which covered the plain at that capital of a once illustrious kingdom, no doubt threw all their powers of soul and brain

into their work and contemplated the creation of a memorial of their splendour and far sighted activity which should last through many ages. But when lately the British Government transferred its district head-quarters from Kaladghi to Bijapur, it was found that the wants of even a comparatively small district of to-day could not be fitted into the splendid framework of the great Muhammadan capital. There were three indispensable requirements of the nineteenth century which had never entered into the conceptions of the architects of the ancient empire. These were the school, the hospital, and the railway station; and they served to mark the change that even a few centuries had brought about.

Proceeding to examine a few of the more striking changes of feeling and policy which would at once attract the notice of the men of ancient times could they again revisit this world, Mr. Lee-Warner said that they would be astonished in the first place at the combination or grouping of many nations under one Government, and at the extent to which the feeling of altruism and a regard for the public rights of every member of the governed classes pervaded society and its governors. The spirit of exclusivism which prevailed successively in the family, the tribe, and the principality, and which served to keep these groups of men apart, had given way to a spirit of empire under the influence of which the various races of India had acquired the boon of a common citizenship. As evidences of the prevalence of a more neighbourly spirit Mr. Lee-Warner called attention to the following facts. The functions of Government, he said, had increased. Slavery and forced labour were no longer tolerated, but care was taken to protect the labourer from ill-treatment at home and abroad. The cultivator of the soil was secured against eviction without compensation, and the capitalist was made to bargain with the ignorant borrower on fairer terms. No wrong was to be inflicted on the weakest member of society without redress. The courts of law were not closed to the poor; and men of power and wealth were not allowed to have it all their own way. Education was not reserved for a single upper class. All through modern legislation ran the idea that certain public rights were common property. Even those who offended against the law were humanely treated; and when an offence was committed against a person, it was the State, not the wronged man, that inflicted the penalty. The men who ruled were not invested with absolute power; and they could neither legislate without discussion nor act without criticism. Generally speaking, might was no longer right, and in the maintenance of national unity and the preservation of good government the cultivation of the arts of peace had become a much more important factor than the practice of war.

Looking at the various and useful qualities supplied by the races which had successively entered India, Mr. Lee-Warner said that the world had never seen a finer field for the development of the altruistic

sentiment than that which the India of to-day presented. From the early Aryan invaders to the British immigrants each new race had contributed something of value to the life of India. It was not, however, until internal peace and security from foreign invasion were guaranteed by the advent of British power that the social and moral development of the country could enter upon a course of permanent progress. Until then there was no ordered peace, no universal law, no unquestioned authority, and no capital wherewith to develop the resources of the country.

Mr. Lee-Warner next proceeded to contrast the present with the past as regards the freedom of thought permitted to individuals and the freedom of combination and expression. In the earlier stages of society and even in Greece and Rome such freedom was unknown. The people of India had a free press, an educational system, a regular post to carry the productions of the press, and they were encouraged in every way to discuss matters and to form and express opinions of their own. All this would have seemed monstrous to their forefathers. They must not, however, imagine, Mr. Lee-Warner said, that freedom of speech was to be used only against Government or one class of men. They must admit the principle in their dealings with one another, and must not allow any of their societies or castes to tyrannise over the free beliefs and convictions of individuals. This is advice that will have to be given many a time in India before the need for it shall have disappeared. There is little of the spirit of equal justice to be found as yet in the utterances of the native press.

Having shown that the spirit of freedom, of individuality, of humanity, was the new force which governed the relations of rulers and ruled and of the various units of society with one another, Mr. Lee-Warner went on to give some reasons for believing that this was not a phase of social development that would soon pass away but that it was an application to human society of a divine law. The propagation and dissemination of the new spirit was being furthered by all the inventions of modern times. In former days the rich only could command writing materials, and when a Government wished to stop criticism it had only to shut the theatres and gag the orators. The press could not be silenced in this simple fashion. In all this Mr. Lee-Warner traced the hand of Providence guiding the world to a larger view of social and political obligation based on the oneness of the human race. Nature herself, he said, indicated to us the divine care of the whole human race; and the works of man which spoke to us down the ages and lived for ever, were works that touched the feelings naturally implanted in every man.

Mr. Lee-Warner, in conclusion, referred to the danger to society which some anticipated if too much emphasis were laid upon individual freedom. For himself, he said, he had no fear that the recognition of

individual freedom or the rights of humanity would break up society. On the contrary, it would prove, by the binding force of man's duty to man, a better cement than caste or systems of slavery. It had always to be borne in mind that the law of obedience was part of the law of liberty, and that, as Ruskin had said, the principle to which polity owed its stability, life its happiness, faith its acceptance, and creation its continuance, was obedience. The new leaven at work in the regeneration of society was not the spirit of unrestricted individual freedom but the spirit of the rights of the individual as based on the rights of humanity. If any one were to ask whence this leaven came, Mr. Lee-Warner said he could only answer that it was brought into the world by Christ.

THE annual meeting for the distribution of prizes, which took place on the 5th of April, was held this year under unusually sad circumstances. For on the morning of the day of meeting the news reached Madras that Mr. H. B. Grigg, who had for twelve years been Director of Public Instruction in Madras, had died at Trivandrum. In consequence of the death of Mr. Grigg, the Hon'ble Mr. Bliss, who was to have presided, was unavoidably absent. The Rev. A. H. Arden kindly consented to take the chair and distribute the prizes. In asking Mr. Arden to take the chair the Rev. W. Skinner, the Acting Principal, made the following very appropriate reference to the death of Mr. Grigg.

"It is fitting," said Mr. Skinner, "that I should give expression now to the sorrow which we, along with a much wider circle of friends and associates, feel at the loss of one who has for so many years been known as a true and devoted friend of this country. We who are associated with the work of education in this College have especial reason to mourn his loss. As Director of Public Instruction Mr. Grigg not merely gave a powerful impetus to the cause of education generally, but he was a steady friend of that branch of the educational institutions of the Presidency of which this College is a representative. We sympathise with the Government in the loss of one of the most eminent of its servants, and we sympathise above all with her to whom his loss is more than it is to all others and whose grief has been aggravated by the bitterness of absence."

Mr. Skinner expressed the desire that the proceedings of the evening should be conducted with the utmost possible quietness; and the behaviour of the students throughout showed that they respected the feelings to which Mr. Skinner had given expression.

Before the prizes were distributed extracts from the Report of the College Council for 1894 were read by the Bursar. Many of the topics dealt with in the Report have been touched upon at various times in the College Notes, but some things in it may be briefly noticed here. In noticing the changes in the College staff the Council expresses its sympathy with Dr. Miller in the illness which has rendered it necessary for him to seek rest and which compelled him to decline the honour

done to him by the Free Church of Scotland in asking him to accept the position of Moderator of the ensuing General Assembly. The Council rejoices that in the selection of Dr. Miller to fill the highest position which it can bestow on any of its ministers, the Free Church of Scotland has expressed its sense of the importance of its educational institutions in India and of the services which Dr. Miller has rendered in bringing them to their present position.

The attendance both in the College and in the School showed an increase as compared with the previous year. The increase in the College was almost entirely in the Senior B.A. Class, in which more than one-fourth of the total number of students were studying one or other of the special Sciences only, and in which those who were studying English were taught in two divisions. The increase in the number on the rolls of the School was mainly in the Lower School. The attendance throughout the year was fairly satisfactory both in School and College, the average percentage of absentees being 7·3 in the case of the School and 8·6 in the case of the College.

The income derived from fees was upwards of Rs. 2,000 in excess of the income derived from this source in 1893. But the expenditure for the year was much larger than usual. It included some considerable items of an unusual kind, however, chief of which were the contribution of Rs. 6,000 made by the College to the newly instituted Teachers' Retiring Fund and a large part of the sum to be contributed by the College towards the reconstruction of the Anderson Hall. In connection with the institution of the Teachers' Retiring Fund the College Council acknowledges the generous assistance rendered by Dr. Miller and the Rev. Alexander Miller of Buckie. It expresses regret that Government could not see its way to assist an effort which has so important a bearing on the stability and permanent usefulness of the Institution and all other aided institutions. In acknowledging the grant made by Government for several years towards the scholarship scheme connected with the College, the Council expresses the hope that Government will reconsider its decision to withdraw its aid from the scheme.

In concluding its Report the Council expresses "its belief that beyond such results as can be measured, the College has not ceased to exercise on the thought and character of those who have come under its training, something of that influence which descends from Christ and which in its fulness becomes the support of all true manhood and of all everlasting good."

After distributing the prizes the chairman addressed the meeting. He said that when asked to take the chair he did not like to refuse the honour, because it gave him an opportunity of showing the very great interest which he had taken in the Institution for more than thirty years. He sought to impress on the students the importance of develop-

ing their physical, intellectual, moral, and spiritual faculties simultaneously, and pointed out that the development of any one of them to the neglect of the others would not make the development of a man complete. The death of Mr. Grigg, he said, had directed their attention to the life beyond the present; and he earnestly counselled those whom he was addressing to see to it that while they took every care to fit themselves for discharging well the duties of the present life they did not forget the claims of that other life which was to come after the present.

In a lecture delivered recently to the Presidency College Literary Society Dr. J. R. Henderson directed attention to what he called 'a neglected field in natural history', *viz.*, the study of the habits of animals. There can be no doubt, as Dr. Henderson said, that this department of natural history has been specially neglected in India, in spite of the fact that there is in this country abundant opportunity for observation. With regard to this Dr. Henderson admitted that as compared with workers in more temperate climates natives of this country laboured under certain disadvantages. For one thing animals in a tropical country have a very marked tendency to shun observation. But apart from any difficulties connected with the study of the habits of animals Dr. Henderson said that the real bar to the progress of the study was the lack of inclination which was only too common a characteristic of natives of this country. He went on to contrast the Englishman with he native of India in this respect; and expressed his belief that the chief reason for the difference lay in the fact that many Englishmen acquired a taste for natural history in early youth. They began collecting at school, and the collecting craze very often stuck to them throughout life. Dr. Henderson claimed that the collecting hobby was of much benefit to those who indulged in it. It trained them to habits of observation which could not fail to be of use to them in after life; and often the schoolboy, who commenced by collecting shells or butterflies, subsequently developed into the scientific conchologist or entomologist.

In advocating the study of the habits of animals as a hobby to be taken up in one's spare time, Dr. Henderson laid stress on the fact that it was a study which could be carried on without previous scientific training. In illustration of this fact he adduced the work done by Thomas Edward, the Banffshire naturalist, who, he said, was but a type of persons to be found in almost every village in Great Britain. Of work such as had been done in Britain by Edward and men like him there was a practically unlimited amount to be done in India, where whole chapters of the book of nature were as yet unread. On all sides there were animals, some of them unnamed by science and unknown to it, the habits of which would well repay investigation. Many generations would probably come and go before India, in regard to the know-

ledge of its indigenous animals, would stand on the same footing as the various countries of Europe. As showing how little is really known about the habits of common Indian animals Dr. Henderson mentioned the fact that in the most recent and comprehensive work on Indian snakes the common green tree-snake, which never hesitates to strike out fiercely at any one who ventures too near, is described as "a very gentle snake."

No one would deny, said Dr. Henderson, that the powers of observation were very largely undeveloped in the natives of this country. It was not, he said, that the power of observation was wanting, but simply that there was no inclination to use and develop it. At present the average student in this country took more kindly to an essay or debate on an abstruse subject such as evolution than to the examination of simple facts in nature. So far as students were concerned Dr. Henderson was inclined to blame them less than the system of examinations which absorbed their energies and left them little time for external studies. We are not prepared to go so far as this, for it seems to us that the apathy of Hindu youths in regard to the study of natural history is a constitutional defect, the causes of which are to be sought for chiefly in the conditions and circumstances of life that have prevailed in India for many centuries.

In seeking to point out the direction in which improvement might be looked for, Dr. Henderson said that the gradual spread of education would in time bring about a change. But the movement, he said, must come largely from within. Something might be done, he thought, to interest the younger school children in the natural objects around them, and to make them regard that as part of their general education. He suggested—though with diffidence—that natural history societies or field clubs might be instituted in some of our schools and colleges, at the meetings of which members would be encouraged to exhibit and make simple remarks on animals and plants which they had themselves collected.

For the purpose of enlisting the sympathies of those whom he was addressing in the subject Dr. Henderson devoted the concluding portion of his lecture to a description of the insects popularly known as the mason wasps.

COLLEGE NOTES.

THIS year again the preparation of the College Calendar has been entrusted to the Rev. E. M. Macphail; and as in previous years he will be glad to get all the help he can from former students of the College. We need not enter into details regarding the kind of help that former

students can give, for this matter was fully explained by Dr. Miller at this time last year: we need only say that all information calculated to increase the accuracy and completeness of the Calendar will be very welcome. Former students ought, of course, to intimate any changes that are necessary in the information given concerning themselves in the list of graduates; but authentic information concerning any of their friends or acquaintances who are graduates of the College will also be welcomed by the Editor. No one who has information to give should withhold it because it is likely that some one else will give it. In particular, friends and acquaintances of graduates who have died within the last year will do the Editor a favour by giving intimation of deaths known to them.

In bringing the list of graduates up to date the chief difficulty is experienced in regard to those who do not graduate directly from the College, but who study privately for one year or longer before taking their degree. All of this class who wish their names to appear in the list of graduates should see that the required notice is sent in. Graduates already on the list who have this year taken a second degree should also send notice of the fact to the Editor.

Mr. Macphail asks us to say that all information intended for the Calendar should be in his hands not later than the end of the present month.

SCIENTIFIC AND LITERARY JOTTINGS.

THE discovery of argon has led to another most interesting discovery. At the annual meeting of the Chemical Society, Professor Ramsay, who has been assisting Lord Rayleigh in the investigation of the properties of argon, announced that in connection with his work on argon he had discovered another new and apparently elementary body, and that it had proved to be identical with a gas which has been only known hitherto as existing in large quantities in the atmosphere of the sun, and to which the name of helium has, therefore, been given for the last twenty years. It would appear that Mr. H. A. Miers, of the British Museum, drew Professor Ramsay's attention to a paper on cleveite, a rare Norwegian mineral, in which it was stated that it gave off 2·5 per cent. of nitrogen when boiled with sulphuric acid. This suggested to him the idea that if the so-called nitrogen contained argon, he might be able to get a metallic compound of argon. Cleveite consists chiefly of uranate of lead, with rare earths, and it seemed possible that, if this surmise proved correct, uranium might be induced to combine with argon.

ON sparking the gas with oxygen in presence of soda, Professor Ram-

say found that it was almost free from nitrogen, the trace of nitrogen which it lost being probably introduced during its extraction. The spectrum of the residue exhibited in a Plücker's tube all the prominent argon lines, and, in addition, a magnificent yellow line close to the D lines of sodium. A comparison of this spectrum with that furnished by a tube containing hydrogen and argon enabled Professor Ramsay to make a rough determination of the wave-length of the yellow line, and he found it to be the same as that of helium in the solar spectrum. He then bought all the specimens of cleveite he could procure in London, and proceeded to extract from them all the gas he could get. He obtained about two litres of it, and sent two Plücker tubes filled with the gas to Mr. Crookes in order to see whether his observation would be confirmed.

Mr. Crookes contributed a separate paper at the meeting of the Chemical Society, in which he stated that on looking at the spectrum of the gas which Professor Ramsay had sent him he found that by far the most prominent line was a brilliant yellow one apparently occupying the position of the sodium lines. When examined with high powers, however, it continued to appear as a single line when the sodium lines would have been widely separated. When sodium light was then passed into the spectroscope it was found to lie a little to the more refrangible side of the sodium lines and to be separated from them by an interval a little more than twice that between the two sodium lines. Careful measurements give its wave-length as 587·45, while the wave-lengths of the sodium lines are 589·51, and 588·91 respectively. The wave-length of the helium line is given by Angström as 587·49 and by Cornu as 587·46. There is, therefore, no reason to doubt that this substance which the spectroscope revealed to us as forming along with hydrogen the chief part of the envelope of the sun has at last been discovered on the earth.

This discovery may also throw light on the difficult problem raised by the anomalous position of argon with reference to the periodic system. Professor Ramsay stated in his communication to the Chemical Society that the spectrum of atmospheric argon shows three lines in the violet which are not to be seen, or, if present, are excessively feeble, in the spectrum of the gas which he obtained from cleveite. He pointed out that this gave support to the idea that atmospheric argon contains some other gas besides argon, which has not as yet been separated from it.

M. Berthelot has tried to produce chemical combinations with argon by submitting it to the silent discharge. He found that with benzene vapour it is absorbed, though more slowly than nitrogen. The products formed appeared to be similar in character to those obtained with nitro-

gen, but the quantity of argon available was too small to allow of any extended research into their nature. He observed, however, a bright yellowish-green fluorescence, the spectrum of which recalled that of the aurora borealis. He suggests that this phenomenon may possibly be due to the formation of some fluorescent combination of argon in the upper regions of the atmosphere under electrical influence.

A DISPUTE which has arisen between Professor Olszewski and Professor Dewar regarding the priority of their work in liquefying gases, has led Professor Olszewski to publish in the *Philosophical Magazine* a resumé of the results of his work which had previously lain scattered through various scientific periodicals, a good deal of it being in the rather inaccessible *International Bulletin* of the Academy of Sciences of Cracow. Some of these results were obtained by Dr. Olszewski when working under the direction of the late Professor Wroblewski. For some time, however, they worked independently as they preferred different methods of procedure. Wroblewski doubted the indications of the hydrogen thermometer, and used other instruments, while Olszewski continued to use it, having satisfied himself that its indications could be relied on to temperatures below −200°.

Since the publication of the resumé of the results of his work in the *Philosophical Magazine*, Professor Olszewski has suceeded in determining the critical temperature and the boiling point of hydrogen, using a platinum wire thermometer which indicated the temperatures by the alteration in resistance of the wire. The following table gives the more interesting of the results now obtained by him:—

Substance	Critical Temperature (Degrees C.)	Critical Pressure (Atmospheres)	Boiling Point (Degrees C.)	Freezing Point (Degrees C.)
Hydrogen	−233	?	−243	?
Nitrogen	−146	35	−194·4	−214
Carbon Monoxide	−139·5	35·5	−190	−207
Argon	−121	50·6	−187	−189·6
Oxygen	−118·8	50·8	−182·7	?
Nitric Oxide ...	− 93·5	71·2	−153·6	−167
Methane	− 81·8	54·9	−164	−185·8
Ethane	+ 34	50·2	−93	?
Propane	+ 97	44	−45	?
Ethylene	+ 10	51·7	−102·5	−169

DR. JOSEPH WRIGHT, the Honorary Secretary and Literary Director of the English Dialect Society, has issued the prospectus of a Dictionary he proposes to bring out if he can obtain sufficient encouragement in the form of subscribers. It is to be called *The English Dialect Dictionary*, and will be "the complete vocabulary of all dialect words still in

use or known to have been in use during the last two hundred years." It will include also all American dialect words which are still in use in the dialects of Great Britain and Ireland, or which are to be found in early printed dialect books and glossaries. For the last twenty years the English Dialect Society has been collecting material for the compilation of this important work, and in addition to the seventy volumes it has issued, there are great quantities of hitherto unpublished matter, consisting partly of material from unprinted sources, and partly of extracts from books containing dialect words. Dr. Wright, the Editor, states that he has in his possession over a million slips—above a ton in weight—each containing the source, with quotation, date, and country, and he feels that the time has come for this material to be edited for the press. Professor Skeat and many other specialists agree with him in this opinion, and any one who reflects upon the change that is being steadily brought about by a national system of education and the development of the means of communication, must see that every year it will become more difficult to obtain accurate information about dialect words. It has been decided consequently to begin the publication of the Dictionary provided that the minimum number of one thousand subscribers can be obtained. The rate of subscription is a guinea a year, and it is thought that the Dictionary will be completed in eight years. Two parts will be published each year, and it is expected that Part I. will appear in June, 1896. Non-subscribers will have to pay fifteen shillings for each part. It is to be hoped that Dr. Wright will find far more than the thousand subscribers he requires. A work like this will be of the greatest value to all students of English, and should find a place in the library of every College or University.

Messrs. Macmillan and Co. have decided to issue in their 'Eversley Series' a uniform edition of Sir John Seeley's works *Ecce Homo*, *Natural Religion*, *The Expansion of England*, and *Lectures and Essays*. The same publishers are going to issue in the same series a new edition of Wordsworth, edited by Professor Knight of St. Andrews. It will probably consist of sixteen volumes, and will contain not only the poems, but the prose works and also the letters both of the poet and his sister, and the journals of Dorothy Wordsworth. Several of the volumes are already in the press.

The first of the series of Handbooks on the History of Religion published by Messrs. Ginn and Co. of Boston is to appear this month. It is, as we stated some time ago, *The Religions of India*, by Edward Washburn Hopkins, Professor of Sanskrit in Bryn Mawr College, and gives an account of the religions of India in the chronological order of their development. The point of view is, says the *Academy*, chiefly historical

and descriptive, but the causes leading to the successive phases of religious belief are kept prominently before the reader. A new feature of this book as compared with the one work that has preceeded it on the same lines, Barth's *Religions of India*, is the constant employment of illustrative material, drawn from the original sources. Copious extracts are given from Vedic, Brahmanic, Jain, Buddhistic, and later sectarian literatures. The volume contains also a full description of the modern sects of to-day, a chapter on the religions of the wild tribes, and one on the relations between the religions of India and those of the West.

The History of the English Novel, by Professor Raleigh of Liverpool, has been much praised by the critics as an excellent piece of work. It is one of the most recent additions to the series of University manuals published by Mr. Murray, and edited by Professor Knight. *Comparative Religion*, by Professor Menzies; and *Lectures on Psychology and Logic*, by the late Professor Croom Robertson, will shortly be added to the same series.

Sir Monier Williams is bringing out a new edition of his Sanskrit-English Dictionary. It is being printed at the Clarendon Press, and two-thirds of the work have already been completed. He is also revising his works on Brahmanism and Buddhism.

The *Athenæum* praises very highly Mr. A. W. Pollard's edition of the *Canterbury Tales* in two volumes. It says that "it is an immense improvement on anything of the kind previously provided for the general reader," and that even when Professor Skeat produces a popular one-volume edition of Chaucer's greatest work Mr. Pollard will not be altogether driven out of the field, or deserve any such fate.

In *Madame Blavatsky and her 'Theosophy'*, published by Messrs. Swan, Sonnenschein, and Co., Mr. Arthur Lillie gives a popular account of the Russian lady and of the evolution of her Mahatmas, including also a sketch of the old theosophists of the West. The book has chapters comparing her teaching with genuine mysticism of the Buddhists and the Brahmin Yogis.

Among the books which will shortly be published by Mr. T. Fisher Unwin are *Vedic India*, by Madame Z. A. Ragozin, in the 'Story of the Nations' series, and *Krishna Kanta's Will*, "a novel of native life, by a Hindoo." A new volume of Indian stories, by Mrs. Steel, is announced by Messrs. J. M. Dent and Co.

Messrs. W. and R. Chambers are now engaged in the preparation of a new edition of their *Cyclopœdia of English Literature.*

The *Athenæum* says of the series of *Romances and Narratives of Daniel Defoe* now being published by Messrs. Dent and Co., under the Editorship of Mr. G. A. Aitken, that "it is clear that this will be the standard edition of Defoe's novels."

RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

The *Contemporary Review* for April opens with an article by Professor Fairbairn, on Mr. A. J. Balfour's recently published work, *The Foundations of Belief.* The appearance of the statesman as a theologian, Professor Fairbairn says, is a matter of interest not only to theologians but also to the State. Mr. Balfour's work shows that we have a statesman who at least thinks as deeply of ethical as of material well-being, and who spends his quiet days not simply on brown moors or breezy links, but in attempting to lay anew, broad and deep and strong, the foundations of the beliefs on which he conceives society to rest.

Professor Fairbairn's article is chiefly critical—and at times very severely critical; but he more than once expresses his sympathy with Mr. Balfour's purpose and endeavour, and his admiration for the spirit of his work. After pointing out that *The Foundations of Belief* is an expansion of the author's older book, *A Defence of Philosophic Doubt,* which, he says, is the best introduction to the new book, Professor Fairbairn goes on to say that the new work is distinguished by many admirable qualities, is at once lucid and subtle, brilliant and eloquent, always grave, yet often lighted up with flashes of a nimble though ironical humour, with a delicate yet elastic style, excellently suited to the deft and sinuous movement of the thought. If, he says, to be well put were to be victoriously argued, this would indeed be a cogent book. Yet in spite of these excellent qualities the book, he says, has been to him a disappointment. The early chapters awakened high hope, but the farther he read the less satisfactory the argument seemed. He points out by the way that so far as it relates to theology properly so-called the book is that of an amateur.

Going on to deal with Mr. Balfour's work in some detail, Professor Fairbairn says that the book, though divided into four parts, really falls into three main divisions, which he distinguishes as the critical, the transitional, and the positive or constructive. In regard to the first of these divisions Professor Fairbairn notes in passing that the discussion of Transcendental Idealism is not very serious and in no respect thorough. It fails to do justice to the conspicuous services which this Idealism has rendered to the cause championed by the author. But it is against what he calls 'Naturalism' that Mr. Balfour's most serious and perfectly tireless criticism is directed; and here, says Professor Fairbairn, his dexterity is marvellous, though he has not shown sufficient care in his definition of 'Naturalism'. The cogency of Mr. Balfour's criticism, Professor Fairbairn says, is undeniable, but he objects to its purely sceptical character. It creates doubt and nothing more. It does not make the formation of belief more intelligible, the process of knowledge more conceivable, its results more real, or its conclusions more trustworthy. It involves all these things

in deeper doubt; it turns the relation of mind to nature and of nature to mind into a hopeless maze, and creates suspicion as to the truth and reality of knowledge. It may have made the fundamental ideas of science too doubtful to be used against faith; but since it shows that error creeps into all our thought, and uncertainty surrounds all our knowledge of Nature, how can we know that there is any truth anywhere, in any premise or in any argument, any certainty in any knowledge, any reality in any belief? And in this case, where, asks Professor Fairbairn, is the advantage to faith?

Going on to deal with the second main division of Mr. Balfour's book, that is, the part which treats of the application of fundamental philosophical theory to religious or theological belief, Professor Fairbairn first remarks that the author appears to him to have no adequate sense of the range and complexity of the problem he has set for himself, which is nothing less than to find a positive philosophy of religious beliefs. He then proceeds to examine Mr. Balfour's explanation of the cause or origin of religious beliefs; and he pronounces it altogether unsatisfactory. It reduces religion to a theory of climate; and according to it all idea of a religion true for all places, all times, and all men, falls to the ground. It repeats the theory of Hobbes, with impersonal authority substituted for the personal king. Both in this division of his work and in the last or constructive division Mr. Balfour's method would seem to be almost a complete reversal of the method pursued by him in his criticism of Naturalism. This in Professor Fairbairn's opinion constitutes a most serious defect of the book. Mr. Balfour had everything to gain, Professor Fairbairn says, by as free a use of the critical method on the source, the form, and the matter of religious beliefs, as on the basis and truth of scientific ideas; and by his failure to use it he leaves to the beliefs an unjustified existence, introduces a hopeless schism between knowledge and faith, and tends to reduce religion to a mere consuetudinary and institutional system. Such is in outline the drift of Professor Fairbairn's criticism, which concerns not so much the end reached by Mr. Balfour as his mode of reaching it.

Mr. Hall Caine contributes a short article on the Canadian Copyright Act. This Act is a demand on the part of Canada that the British Government shall sanction arrangements for taking away copyright in Canada from all British authors except Canadians. If this is granted Canada undertakes to legislate in the interests of British authors. Mr. Hall Caine objects strongly to the principle of Canada's claims as undermining the whole general recognition of copyright in literary property; and he objects almost as strongly to the legislation which she proposes in the interests of British authors. The side issues in this matter, Mr. Hall Caine says, are of vastly greater consequence than the direct issues; and first and foremost among them he places the effect which the passing of the Act would have on copyright in the United States. Accompanying the article are communications from Mr. Lecky, Mr. Rider Haggard, Mr. John Murray, and Messrs. Macmillan and Co. All these writers protest strongly against the demand made by Canada.

In an article entitled 'The Fiction of Sexuality' Mr. James Ashcroft Noble enters a vigorous protest against the novel of redundant sexuality, of which so many examples have appeared in recent years. He bases his objections to these novels more on artistic considerations than on considerations of morality, though he disagrees entirely with the oft-repeated assertion that art has nothing to do with morality. A novel or a story of any kind, he says, is a work of art, and therefore, though it may incidentally influence or teach, it exists primarily to please, its rank being rightly awarded in virtue of the kind and quality of its pleasure, as these things are appraised by the majority of normally constituted human beings. Pleasure, Mr. Ashcroft Noble says, is the end of all art, and in the art of fiction the means to that end is representation—the repre-

sentation of human life as it mirrors itself on the mind of the artist. And the pleasure given by any representation of a familiar object consists largely in our recognition of resemblance in the representation to the thing represented. The new fiction of sexuality, Mr. Ashcroft Noble contends, is lacking in artistic truth, inasmuch as it unnaturally isolates one part of life and allows it to dominate the whole. Further, he says, it exhibits a remarkable lack of those pudencies and reticences which, whether they are or are not instincts of primitive man, tend in some form to become instinctive in the earliest developments of civilisation.

Mr. Ashcroft Noble is far from contending that the novelist should be debarred from treating of the broad central facts of passion. All that he asks for is that sexuality should be put in its true place as an important, though not all-dominant, factor in life. He names *Jane Eyre*, *Adam Bede*, and *Griffith Gaunt* as three works in which this is done; and he speaks of the success of Mr. Hardy's *Tess* as showing that there is all needful freedom for any writer who will treat sex questions sanely, truthfully, proportionately, and convincingly.

Mr. S. R. Crockett writes on 'Scottish National Humour'. There are some good things and a few clever things in his article, but the cleverness is somewhat too obtrusive at times, and in other respects the style is not so chaste as we could wish. At the end of the article Mr. Crockett makes a few remarks on what he considers to be the duty of the Scottish romancer towards local peculiarities of language. There is, he says, a Scottish language with a long and distinguished history; and he holds that the Scottish romancer ought not to attempt to represent phonetically the peculiarities of his chosen district but should content himself with giving the local colour, incident, and character in the ancient national language.

The present year has witnessed the twenty-fifth anniversary of the union of the Mediterranean with the Red Sea, and also of the establishment of submarine telegraphy to the East; and Mr. C. E. D. Black considers it an appropriate time for bringing to the public notice the question of constructing a railway from Port Said to India. The proposed railway would run through Northern Arabia to the Persian Gulf, and thence through Persia and Baluchistan to Karachi. Mr. Black does not anticipate any great engineering difficulties in the construction of such a railway, nor does he think there will be any serious political objections to be met. He strongly urges the present Cabinet to take up the consideration of a question that has such an important bearing on England and India.

M. Gabriel Monod discusses 'The Political Situation in France'; Mr. Richard Heath writes on 'Early Anabaptism'; and Julia Wedgwood on 'Samuel Taylor Coleridge'. Articles on 'The Love of the Saints', by Vernon Lee, and 'Australia Revisited,' by Mr. J. F. Hogan, complete the number.

Two articles in the *Fortnightly Review* call for special notice. One is on the subject of China. The writer of the article, Mr. E. T. C. Werner, points out in terms of evolution the state of stagnation in which China has existed and continues to exist. He dreads the influence of such a mass at a period when all the rest of the world has been colonized and when supplies are no more than equal to demand. Whatever opinion one may hold in regard to the late Mr. C. H. Pearson's prophecies about the future struggle between the white and the yellow races, the solution of China's problem suggested by the article is interesting. It is argued that if China's resources are to be serviceable to the world at large, an extensive occupation of her must be adopted by the Powers. The writer commends a scheme by which several countries would have Protectorates over belts of territory with a narrow sea-board, and points out that the present is the time for such a step.

Besides all the international difficulties that such proceedings would involve, and the almost certain outbreak of a European war between the dissatisfied spoilers, one cannot help

reflecting that such wholesale pillage, while agreeable to the nations of Europe, would be, to say the least of it, rather hard on the Chinese. It would be little short of national robbery.

Professor Wallace of Oxford reviews Mr. Balfour's recent volume, and has both good and bad things to say of it. He begins by suggesting that Mr. Balfour, on account of his public duties, is unfitted to make any important contribution to philosophy. Apparently Mr. Wallace is of the opinion that no real addition can be made to the speculative sciences outside of Oxford, for he speaks of it as the centre, and of other places as the provinces. One has always hitherto supposed that "the wind bloweth where it listeth," but Mr. Wallace being in Oxford is of a different opinion. He finds fault with Mr. Balfour for forming a too cut-and-dry estimation of Naturalism, Rationalism, and Transcendentalism, but surely if criticism is to be possible one must form at least provisional definitions of the systems to be criticised. The article further indicates the weakness of the appeal on behalf of the credibility of religion to authority because there is no norm for the various authorities. Mr. Balfour's position reminds one of that adopted in the later Greek Academy, and in more modern times by Dean Mansel. Its maxim in modern times is to do away with reason in order to make room for faith, but this opposition of reason and faith is an erroneous one, for faith must proceed along the lines of reason. Faith may be opposed to cognition or sense-perception, but not to reason, because faith itself is but a higher manifestation of reason. The Greek Academy had no such purpose in view in doing away with reason as Dean Mansel had, and as Mr. Balfour apparently has, and in this respect it was more logical than its modern disciples.

THE influenza has made itself felt in the region of journalism. Professor Huxley has been unable to continue his criticism of Mr. A. J. Balfour's *Foundations of Belief* in the *Nineteenth Century* owing to an attack, and we expect that the Editor has found it difficult for the same reason to secure from others of his contributors the material that we naturally expect to find in this Magazine. There is not in this number a syllable about the great war in the Far East, and by this time, now that the fighting has come to an end, it must be possible to say something rational on the collapse of China, and the changes that are bound to come since Japan has asserted her place as one of the great Powers of the world.

Sir George Clarke gives a severe handling to Mr. Laird Clowes' proposal that England should abandon the Mediterranean. With his general conclusion we entirely agree. It is impossible for any nation to relinquish its traditions in the way proposed by Mr. Clowes, and it is equally absurd to expect a nation to yield its territorial acquisitions for the sake of some untried and questionable advantage. In fact, if Mr. Clowes has made his proposal in good faith, it is altogether too *doctrinaire* for practical, matter of fact England.

Dr. Martineau's *critique* of the *Foundations of Belief* is disappointing. As might be expected Dr. Martineau specially objects to what Mr. Balfour claims for the Incarnation. Unitarianism, however, in its negation, has never been a life-imparting power, though it has helped to keep before men the human Christ.

Mr. Sidney Low's article on 'The Decline of the House of Commons' is suggestive. He shows that Government is becoming more and more government by Cabinets, and that members are sent to the House either to support the Ministers of State or to do their best to drive them from office.

It is difficult to see what Mrs. Crackanthorpe would be at in her article on 'Sex in Modern Literature'. So far as we understand the writer, she realises that the question of sex can be no longer ignored by anyone who would get a hold of the reading public, but she desires a more artistic or idealistic treatment of the subject than some popular writers give to it.